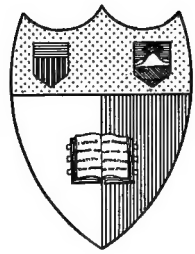
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The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation

In Twelve Volumes

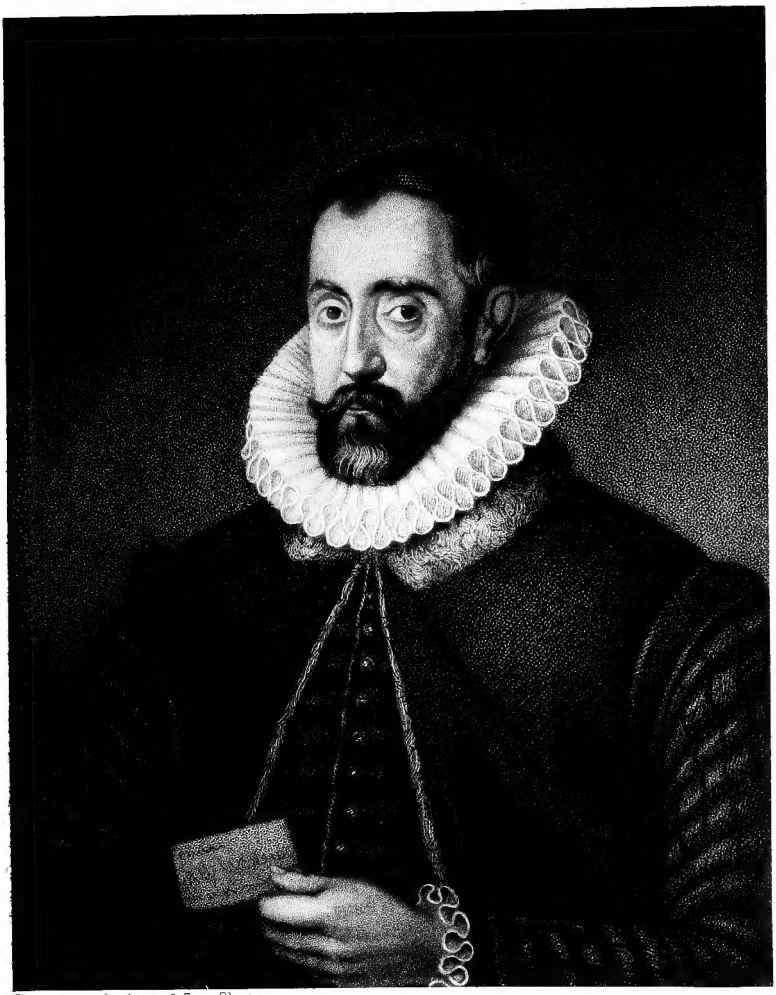
Volume VI

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SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

The Principal
Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation

Made by Sea or Over-land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 Yeeres

By

RICHARD HAKLUYT

Preacher, and sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford

VOLUME VI

Glasgow

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Sir Francis Walsingham, ... *Frontispiece*

Sir Francis Walsingham was born about 1530. He matriculated at King's College, Cambridge, and subsequently entered Gray's Inn. On Queen Mary's accession he left England and travelled on the Continent, but returned home on her death. He then entered Parliament as member for Banbury, and later represented Lyme Regis and Surrey. His knowledge of foreign affairs brought him under the notice of Burghley, and through his foreign friends and correspondents he obtained much valuable secret intelligence. In 1570 he went on an embassy to Paris, and later in that year was appointed resident ambassador at the French Court. In December, 1573, Walsingham was appointed one of the principal Secretaries of State, and in 1577 was knighted. He was one of the Commissioners who tried Mary, Queen of Scots, and it was largely on the secret information obtained by him that she was condemned. Walsingham died in London on 6th April, 1590, and was buried privately the next night in St. Paul's. The portrait here reproduced is from the engraving in the British Museum of the original formerly in the collection of the Duke of Dorset.

John Eldred, ... 8

According to the tablet beneath the monument, which is here pictured, in Great Saxham Church, Suffolk,

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'New Buckingham in Norfolke was John Eldred's first being. In Babilon hee spent some parte of his time, and the rest of his earthly pilgrimage hee spent in London, and was Alderman of that Famous Cittie.' He traded to the East, and was a member of the Levant Company.

The Emperor Akbar, ... 16

Akbar (or 'the great') Mogul Emperor of India, is the 'Selabdim Echebar King of Cambaia,' frequently mentioned by Hakluyt. He came to the throne in 1556, when between thirteen and fourteen years old, and reigned until 1605. In addition to being a great conqueror, he was a wise and enlightened ruler. The present picture represents him as he appeared towards the middle of his reign, when at the height of his power, and after he had founded his new religion. It is reproduced from an original in an album of miniatures and calligraphic specimens of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, preserved in the Department of Oriental MSS. in the British Museum.

Plan of Ormuz, ... 32

From the copy in the British Museum of G. Braun and F. Hohenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1573.

English Sailing Chart, 1592, ... 128

This chart, drawn by T. Hood, and engraved by Ryther in 1592, is reproduced from the original in a volume of miscellaneous papers entitled *Sea Tracts*, Vol. II., in the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, by permission of the College authorities. It gives the coast lines from the latitude of the Orkneys to the Cape Verde Islands. Thomas Hood, 'Doctor in Phisicke,' was also a lecturer on navigation, a seller of compasses, and author and editor of various books on mathematics and navigation. Specimens of his charts are very rare.

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Map of Egypt, ... 176

From the copy in the British Museum of *John Huighen van Linschoten his Discours of Voyages unto ye Easte and Weste Indies*, printed at London, 1598. It is of interest to note the 'diche begonne in auncient tyme and somewhat attempted of late by Sinan the Bassa to joyne both the Seas together'—now the Suez Canal.

George Fenner, ... 272

George Fenner, 'a man that had beene conversant in many sea-fights,' belonged to a Sussex family, and was probably a native of Chichester. The family produced several other seamen, of whom William Fenner, Viceadmiral under Drake and Norris in the Portugal voyage (see p. 483), and Thomas Fenner, captain of the 'Dreadnought' in Drake's Cadiz Expedition (see p. 438), are best known. The action off the Azores between the Portuguese squadron and George Fenner's ships (see pp. 281-3) is 'memorable as the earliest revelation to English seamen of the power their superiority in gunnery was to give them' (Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, I. 93). On his return from the voyage to Guinea in 1566, Fenner traded with the Low Countries. In 1588 he commanded the 'Galleon Leicester' against the Armada, and in 1597 accompanied Essex in the Islands voyage. The portrait is taken from that in John Pine's *Tapestry Hangings of the House of Lords*, London, 1753, in the British Museum.

Plan of Goa, ... 384

From the copy in the British Museum of G. Braun and F. Hohenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1573.

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Despatch from Sir Francis Drake, ... 440

This despatch, dated 27th April, 1587, gives Drake's account of the burning of the Spanish ships in Cadiz Harbour. It is reproduced by permission from the original preserved in the Public Record Office. The postscripts are in Drake's own handwriting. The despatch, which is addressed 'To the righte honorable Sir Ffrauncis Walsingham, Knighte principall Secretary to Her Ma^tie^ with all haste haste poste haste' runs as follows:

Righte honorable Theise are to geive to understande that on the seconde of this moneth we departede out of the sound of Plymouth we had sighte of the Cape venester the v^th^: we were encountrede with a violente storme duringe the space of five daies by which meanes our fleate was putt a sonder and a greate leake sprange uppon the Dreadenoughte: the 16^th^ we mette all together at the Rocke & the 19^th^ we arrivede into the roade of Cales in Spaigne where we founde sondrie greate shippes some laden some halfe laden and some readie to be laden with the kings provisions for Englande; we staiede there untill the 24^th^ in which meane tyme we sanke a Biskanie of 12^c^ tonnes, burnte a shippe of the Marquice of Santa Cruse of 15^c^ Tonnes and 31 shippes more of 1000 800 600: 400 to 200 tonnes the peice carried awaie fower with us laden with provision, And departede thence at our pleasure with as moch honour as we coulde wishe notwithstandinge that duringe the tyme of our aboade there we were bothe oftentymes foughte with all by 12 of the kinges gallies (of whome we sanke two and allwaies repulsed the rest) and were (withoute Ceassinge) vehemently shott at from the shoare but to our litle hurte, god be thanked, yeat at our departure we were Curteouslie written unto by one Don Pedro generall of those gallies; I assure your Ho: the like preparacion was never

hearde of nor knowen as the kinge of Spaigne hathe and dailie makethe to invade Englande. He is allied with mighte Prynces and Dukes in the Straits of whome (besides the forces in his owne domynyons) he is to have greate aide shortlie: and his provisions of breade and wynes are so greate as will suffice 40000 men a wholle yeere, which, if they be not ympeached before they joyne, wilbe verie perillous, Our entente therfore is (by gods helpe) to intercepte their meetinges by all possible meanes we maye, which I hope shall have such a good successe as shall tende to thadvauncement of gods glorie, the savetie of her highnes royall person, the quyett of her countrie, and thannoyaunce of the Enemie. This service which by gods sufferaunce we have done will (withoute doute) breade some alteracyon of their pretences howebeit all possible preparacions for defence are very expediente to be made: Thus moch touchinge our proceedinges and farther entente in this actyon I have thoughte meete to signifie unto your honour & would use more larger discourse but that wante of leisure causeth me to leave the same to the reporte of this bearer, And so in verie greate haste with remembraunce of my humble duetie doe take my leave of your honour: ffrom aboarde her highnes good ship the Elizabethe Bonadventure the 27th of Aprill 1587

Your honours redye allwayes to
be comaunded

FRA: DRAKE

I leave the report of dyvers prisonars to the bearer herof and pray pardon for not writtyng with my owne hand, I am overcom with businesses

Your honours ever redy

FRA: DRAKE

I dare not a most writ unto your honour of the great forces we hear the K. of Spayne hath out of the

straytts prepair in yngland strongly and most by sea: stope him now and stope hym ever: look well to the cost of Sussex I will sourly writ you mor as ocasyon shalbe menestred and with the grace of god will fight with them for it is the Lord that geveth victory.

Chart of Cadiz Harbour by William Borough, . 448

This chart of Drake's operations in Cadiz Harbour, April, 1587, was drawn by William Borough Vice-admiral on the 'Lion,' and is reproduced by permission from the original preserved in the Public Record Office. It was in this expedition that Borough was put under arrest by Drake for insubordination, and afterwards court-martialled and condemned to death. He was, however, subsequently pardoned.

Map of the Coast of Guinea, ... 528

From the copy in the British Museum of *John Huighen van Linschoten his Discours of Voyages unto ye Easte and Weste Indies*, printed at London, 1598.

THE SIXTH VOLUME

OF THE

Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation

Made to the South and South-east quarters of the World, with the directions, letters, privileges discourses, and observations incident to the same

The voyage of M. John Eldred to Trypolis in Syria by sea, and from thence by land and river to Babylon and Balsara. 1583.



Departed out of London in the ship called the Tiger, in the company of M. John Newbery, M. Ralph Fitch, and sixe or seven other honest marchants upon Shrove munday 1583, and arrived in Tripolis of Syria the first day of May next insuing: at our landing we went on Maying upon S. Georges Iland, a place where Christians dying aboord the ships, are woont to be buried. In this city our English marchants have a Consull, and our nation abide together in one house with him, called Fondeghi Ingles, builded of stone, square, in maner like a Cloister, & every man hath his severall chamber, as it is the use of all other Christians of severall nations. This towne standeth under a part of the mountaine of Libanus two English miles distant from the port: on the side of which port, trending in forme of an halfe Moone, stand five blocke houses or small forts, wherein is some very good artillery, and the forts are kept with about an hundred Janisaries. Right before this towne from the seaward is a banke of moving sand, which gathereth and increaseth with the Westerne winds, in such sort, that, according to an olde prophesie among them, this banke is like to swallow up & overwhelme the towne: for every yere it increaseth and eateth up many gardens, although they use all policy to diminish the same, and to make it firme ground. The city is about the bignesse

The description of Tripolis in Syria.

of Bristow, and walled about, though the walles be of no great force. The chiefe strength of the place is in a Citadell, which standeth on the South side within the walles, and overlooketh the whole towne, and is strongly kept with two hundred Janisaries and good artillery. A river passeth thorow the midst of the city, wherewith they water their gardens and mulbery trees, on which there grow abundance of silke wormes, wherewith they make great quantity of very white silke, which is the chiefest naturall commodity to be found in and about this place. This rode is more frequented with Christian marchants, to wit, Venetians, Genouois, Florentines, Marsilians, Sicilians, Raguses, and lately with English men, then any other port of the Turks dominions. From Tripolis I departed the 14 of May with a caravan, passing three dayes over the ridge of mount Libanus, at the end whereof we arrived in a city called Hammah, which standeth on a goodly plaine replenished with corne & cotton wooll. On these mountaines which we passed grow great quantity of gall trees, which are somewhat like our okes, but lesser and more crooked: on the best tree a man shall not finde above a pound of galles. This towne of Hammah is fallen and falleth more and more to decay, and at this day there is scarse one halfe of the wall standing, which hath bene very strong and faire: but because it cost many mens lives to win it, the Turke will not have it repaired; and hath written in the Arabian tongue over the castle gate, which standeth in the midst of the towne, these words: Cursed be the father and the sonne that shall lay their hands to the repairing hereof. Refreshing our selves one day here, we passed forward with camels three dayes more untill we came to Aleppo, where we arrived the 21 of May. This is the greatest place of traffique for a dry towne that is in all those parts: for hither resort Jewes, Tartarians, Persians, Armenians, Egyptians, Indians, and many sorts of Christians, and injoy freedome of their consciences, and bring thither many kinds

Store of white silke.

The city of Hammah.

Cotton wooll.

Gall trees.

Aleppo.

[II. i. 269.]

of rich marchandises. In the middest of this towne also standeth a goodly castle raised on high, with a garison of foure or five hundred Janisaries. Within foure miles round about are goodly gardens and vineyards and trees, which beare goodly fruit neere unto the rivers side, which is but small; the walles are about three English miles in compasse, but the suburbs are almost as much more. The towne is greatly peopled. We departed from thence with our camels the last of May with M. John Newbery and his company, and came to Birrah in three dayes, being a small towne situated upon the river Euphrates, where it beginneth first to take his name, being here gathered into one chanell, whereas before it commeth downe in manifolde branches, and therefore is called by the people of the countrey by a name which signifieth a thousand heads. Here is plenty of victuals, wherof we all furnished our selves for a long journey downe the aforesayd river. And according to the maner of those that travell downe by water, we prepared a small barke for the conveyance of our selves and of our goods. These boats are flat bottomed, because the river is shallow in many places: and when men travell in the moneth of July, August, and September, the water being then at the lowest, they are constrained to cary with them a spare boat or two to lighten their owne boats, if they chance to fall on the sholds. We were eight and twenty dayes upon the water betweene Birrah and Felugia, where we disimbarked our selves and our goods. Every night after the Sun setteth, we tie our barke to a stake, go on land to gather sticks, and set on our pot with rice or brused wheat, and having supped, the marchants lie aboord the barke, and the mariners upon the shores side as nere as they can unto the same. In many places upon the rivers side we met with troops of Arabians, of whom we bought milke, butter, egges, and lambs, and gave them in barter, (for they care not for money) glasses, combes, corall, amber, to hang about their armes and necks, and for

Birrah.

Euphrates shallow.

Eight & twenty dayes journey by river.

Arabians upon the river of Euphrates.

churned milke we gave them bread and pomgranat peeles, wherewith they use to tanne their goats skinnes which they churne withall. Their haire, apparell, and colour are altogether like to those vagabond Egyptians, which heretofore have gone about in England. Their women all without exception weare a great round ring in one of their nostrels, of golde, silver, or yron, according to their ability, and about their armes and smalles of their legs they have hoops of golde, silver or yron. All of them aswel women and children as men, are very great swimmers, and often times swimming they brought us milke to our barke in vessels upon their heads. These people are very theevish, which I proved to my cost: for they stole a casket of mine, with things of good value in the same, from under my mans head as he was asleepe: and therefore travellers keepe good watch as they passe downe the river. Euphrates at Birrah is about the breadth of the Thames at Lambeth, and in some places narrower, in some broader: it runneth very swiftly, almost as fast as the river of Trent: it hath divers sorts of fish in it, but all are scaled, some as bigge as salmons, like barbils. We landed at Felugia the eight and twentieth of June, where we made our abode seven dayes, for lacke of camels to cary our goods to Babylon: the heat at that time of the yere is such in those parts, that men are loth to let out their camels to travell. This Felugia is a village of some hundred houses, and a place appointed for discharging of such goods as come downe the river: the inhabitants are Arabians. Not finding camels here, we were constrained to unlade our goods, and hired an hundred asses to cary our English marchandises onely to New Babylon over a short desert, in crossing whereof we spent eighteene houres travelling by night, and part of the morning, to avoid the great heat.

The Arabian women weare golde rings in their nostrels.

Euphrates described.

Felugia.

The ruines of olde Babylon.

In this place which we crossed over, stood the olde mighty city of Babylon, many olde ruines wherof are easily to be seene by day-light, which I John Eldred

have often beheld at my good leasure, having made three voyages betweene the new city of Babylon and Aleppo over this desert. Here also are yet standing the ruines of the olde tower of Babel, which being upon a plaine ground seemeth a farre off very great, but the nerer you come to it, the lesser and lesser it appeareth; sundry times I have gone thither to see it, and found the remnants yet standing above a quarter of a mile in compasse, and almost as high as the stone-worke of Pauls steeple in London, but it sheweth much bigger. The bricks remaining in this most ancient monument be halfe a yard thicke, and three quarters of a yard long, being dried in the Sunne onely, and betweene every course of bricks there lieth a course of mattes made of canes, which remaine sound and not perished, as though they had bene layed within one yeere. The city of New Babylon joyneth upon *New Babylon.* the aforsayd small desert where the Olde city was, and the river of Tigris runneth close under the wall, and *The river Tigris.* they may if they will open a sluce, and let the water of the same runne round about the towne. It is above two English miles in compasse, and the inhabitants generally speake three languages, to wit, the Persian, Arabian and Turkish tongues: the people are of the Spaniards complexion: and the women generally weare in one of the gristles of their noses a ring like a wed- [II. i. 270.] ding ring, but somewhat greater, with a pearle and a Turkish stone set therein: and this they do be they never so poore.

This is a place of very great traffique, and a very great thorowfare from the East Indies to Aleppo. The towne is very well furnished with victuals which come downe the river of Tigris from Mosul which was called Ninive in olde time. They bring these victuals and divers sorts of marchandises upon rafts borne upon *Rafts borne upon bladders of goats skins.* goats skins blowen up ful of wind in maner of bladders. And when they have discharged their goods, they sel the rafts for fire, and let the wind out of their goats

skins, and cary them home againe upon their asses by land, to make other voyages downe the river. The building here is most of bricke dried in the Sun, and very litle or no stone is to be found: their houses are all flat-roofed and low. They have no raine for eight moneths together, nor almost any clouds in the skie, night nor day. Their Winter is in November, December, January and February, which is as warme as our Summer in England in a maner. This I know by good experience, because my abode at severall times in this city of Babylon hath bene at the least the space of two yeres. As we come to the city, we passe over the river of Tigris on a great bridge made with boats chained together with two mighty chaines of yron. From thence we departed in flat bottomed barks more strong & greater then those of Euphrates, and were eight and twenty dayes also in passing downe this river to Balsara, but we might have done it in eighteene or lesse, if the water had bene higher. Upon the waters side stand by the way divers townes resembling much the names of the olde prophets: the first towne they call Ozeah, & another Zecchiah. Before we come to Balsara by one dayes journey, the two rivers of Tigris and Euphrates meet, and there standeth a castle called Curna, kept by the Turks, where all marchants pay a small custome. Here the two rivers joyned together begin to be eight or nine miles broad: here also it beginneth to ebbe and flow, and the water overflowing maketh the countrey all about very fertile of corne, rice, pulse, and dates. The towne of Balsara is a mile and an halfe in circuit: all the buildings, castle and wals, are made of bricke dried in the Sun. The Turke hath here five hundred Janisaries, besides other souldiers continually in garison and pay, but his chiefe strength is of gallies which are about five and twenty or thirty very faire and furnished with goodly ordinance. To this port of Balsara come monethly divers ships from Ormuz, laden with all sorts of Indian marchandise, as spices, drugs, Indico and

Seldome rain.

Eight & twenty dayes journey more by river, from Babylon to Balsara.

Curna Castle.

Balsara.

Calecut cloth. These ships are usually from forty to threescore tunnes, having their planks sowed together with corde made of the barke of Date trees, and in stead of Occam they use the shiverings of the barke of the sayd trees, and of the same they also make their tackling. They have no kinde of yron worke belonging to these vessels, save only their ankers. From this place six dayes sailing downe the gulfe, they go to a place called Baharem in the mid way to Ormus: there they fish for pearles foure moneths in the yere, to wit, in June, July, August, and September. My abode in Balsara was just sixe moneths, during which time I received divers letters from M. John Newbery from Ormus, who as he passed that way with her Majesties letters to Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia, & unto the mighty emperour of China, was traiterously there arrested, and all his company, by the Portugals, and afterward sent prisoner to Goa: where after a long and cruell imprisonment he and his companions were delivered upon sureties, not to depart the towne without leave, at the sute of one father Thomas Stevens an English religious man, which they found there: but shortly after three of them escaped, whereof one, to wit, M. Ralph Fitch, is since come into England. The fourth, which was a painter called John Story, became religious in the college of S. Paul in Goa, as we understood by their letters. I and my companion William Shales having dispatched our businesse at Balsara, imbarked our selves in company of seventy barks all laden with marchandise, having every barke 14 men to draw them, like our Westerne bargemen on the Thames, and we were forty foure dayes comming up against the streame to Babylon, where arriving and paying our custome, we with all other sorts of marchants bought us camels, hired us men to lade and drive them, furnished our selves with rice, butter, bisket, hony made of dates, onions and dates: and every marchant bought a proportion of live muttons, and hired certaine shepheards to drive them with us: we

Ships made without yron in the Persian gulfe.

Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia.

He returneth from Balsara to Aleppo.

Their provision of victuals.

A Caravan of foure thousand Camels.

also bought us tents to lie in, and to put our goods under: and in this our caravan were foure thousand camels laden with spices and other rich marchandises. These camels will live very well two or three dayes without water: their feeding is on thistles, wormewood, magdalene, and other strong weeds which they finde upon the way. The government and deciding of all quarels and dueties to be payed, the whole caravan committeth to one speciall rich marchant of the company, of whose honesty they conceive best. In passing from Babylon to Aleppo, we spent forty dayes, travelling twenty, or foure and twenty miles a day, resting ourselves commonly from two of the clocke in the afternoone, until three in the morning, at which time we begin to take our journey. Eight dayes journey from Babylon toward Aleppo, neere [II. i. 271.] unto a towne called Heit, as we crosse the river Euphrates by boates, about 3. miles from the town there is a valley wherein are many springs throwing out abundantly at great mouths, a kind of blacke substance like unto tarre, which serveth all the countrey to make stanch their barkes and boates: every one of these springs maketh a noise like unto a Smiths forge in the blowing & puffing out of this matter, which never ceaseth night nor day, and the noise may be heard a mile off continually. This vale swaloweth up all heavie things that come upon it. The people of the countrey cal it in their language Babil gehenham, that is to say, Hell doore. As we passed through these deserts, we saw certaine wild beasts, as wild asses all white, Roebucks, wolfes, leopards, foxes, and many hares, whereof we chased and killed many. Aborise the king of the wandring Arabians in these deserts, hath a dutie of 40.s. sterling, upon every Camels lode, which he sendeth his officers to receive of the Caravans, and in consideration hereof, he taketh upon him to conduct the sayd Caravans if they need his helpe, and to defend them against certaine prowling thieves. I and my companion William Shales came to Aleppo with the Caravan the eleventh of June, 1584. where we



JOHN ELDRED

were joyfully received 20. miles distant from the towne by M. William Barret our Consull, accompanied with his people and Janissaries, who fell sicke immediately and departed this life within 8. dayes after, and elected before his death M. Anthonie Bate Consul of our English nation in his place, who laudably supplied the same roome 3. yeeres. In which meane time, I made two voyages more unto Babylon, and returned by the way aforesayd, over the deserts of Arabia. And afterwards, as one desirous to see other parts of the countrey, I went from Aleppo to Antioch, which is thence 60. English miles, and from thence went downe to Tripolis, where going aboord a small vessell, I arrived at Joppe, and travelled to Rama, Lycia, Gaza, Jerusalem, Bethleem, to the river of Jordan, and the sea or lake of Zodome, and returned backe to Joppe, & from thence by sea to Tripolis, of which places because many others have published large discourses, I surcease to write. Within few dayes after imbarking my selfe at Tripolis the 22. of December, I arrived (God be thanked) in safety here in the river of Thames with divers English marchants, the 26. of March, 1588, in the Hercules of London, which was the richest ship of English marchants goods that ever was knowen to come into this realme.

William Barret Consul in Aleppo. M. Wil. Barret.

Two voiages more made to Babylon.

[The money

The money and measures of Babylon, Balsara, and the Indies, with the customes, &c. written from Aleppo in Syria, An. 1584. by M. Will. Barret.

BABYLON:

The weight, measure, and money currant there, and the customes of merchandize.



Mana of Babylon is of Aleppo 1 roue 5 ounces and a halfe: and 68 manas and three seventh parts, make a quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 li. 8 ounces of London: and 100 manas is a quintall of Babylon, which maketh in Aleppo 146 roues, and of London 722 li. and so much is the sayd quintall: but the marchants accord is by so much the mana, and in the sayd place they bate the tare in all sorts of commodities, according to the order of Aleppo touching the tare.

The measure of Babylon is greater then that of Aleppo 21 in ye 100. For bringing 100 pikes of any measurable ware from Aleppo thither, there is found but 82 pikes in Babylon, so that the 100 pikes of Babylon is of Aleppo 121 pikes, very litle lesse.

The currant mony of Babylon are Saies, which Say is 5 medines, as in Aleppo, and 40 medines being 8 Saies make a duckat currant, and 47 medines passe in value as the duckat of gold of Venice, and the dollars of the best sort are worth 33 medines. The roials of plate are sold by the 100 drams at prise, according as they be in request: but amongst the marchants they bargaine by the 100 metrals, which are 150 drams of Aleppo, which 150 drams are 135 single roials of plate: but in the mint or castle, they take them by the 100 drams, which is 90 roials of plate, and those of the mint give 5 medines lesse in each 100 drams then they are woorth to be sold

among the marchants, and make paiment at the terme of 40 dayes in Sayes.

The custome in Babylon, as wel inward as outward, is in this maner: Small wares at 6 per 100, Coral and amber at 5 and a halfe per 100, Venice cloth, English cloth, Kersies, Mockairs, Chamblets, Silks, Velvets, Damasks, Sattins & such like at 5 per 100: & they rate the goods without reason as they lust themselves. The Toafo, Boabo, and other exactions 6 medines per bale, all which they pay presently in ready mony, according to the custome and use of the emperor.

To the Ermin of the mint ye ordinarie use is to give 30 Saies in curtesie, otherwise he would by authoritie of his office come aboord, & for despight make such search in the barke, that he would turne all things topsie turvie.

BALSARA: [II. i. 272]

The weight, measure, and money in the citie of Balsara.

A Mana of Balsara answereth 5 roues 2 ounces & a halfe of Aleppo weight, & 19 manas and one 4 part of Balsara, answereth the quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 roues, 8 ounces English, and 20 manas is the quintall of Balsara, which is 104 Alepine, and of London 514 li. 8. ounces, and so much is the sayd quintall, but the marchants bargaine at so much the mana or wolsene (which is all one) and they abate the tare in every mana, as the sort of spice is, and the order taken therefore in that place.

The measure of Balsara is called a pike, which is just as the measure of Babylon, to say, 100 pikes of Balsara make of Aleppo 121 pikes, ut supra in the rate of Babylon.

The currant mony of Balsara is as foloweth. There is a sort of flusses of copper called Estivi, whereof 12 make a mamedine, which is the value of one medine Aleppine, the said mamedine is of silver, having the

Moresco stampe on both sides, and two of these make a danine, which is 2 medines Aleppine.

The said danine is of silver, having the Turkesco stampe on both sides, & 2 and a halfe of these make a Saie, which is in value as the Saie of Aleppo.

The said Saie is of the similitude and stampe of Aleppo, being (as appeares) 60 estives. Also one Say and 20 estives make a larine, which is of Aleppo money 6 medines and a halfe.

The sayd larine is a strange piece of money, not being round as all other currant money in Christianitie, but is a small rod of silver of the greatnesse of the pen of a goose feather, wherewith we use to write, and in length about one eight part thereof, which is wrested, so that the two ends meet at the just halfe part, and in the head thereof is a stampe Turkesco, and these be the best currant money in all the Indias, and 6 of these larines make a duckat, which is 40 medines or eight Saies of Aleppo.

The duckat of gold is woorth there 7 larines, and one danine, which is of Aleppo money 48 medines and a halfe.

The Venetian money is worth larines 88 per 100 meticals, which is 150 drams of Aleppo, ut supra.

The roials of plate are worth 88 larines by the 100 meticals, & albeit among the marchants they sel by the 100 meticals, yet in the mint or castle, they sel by the 100 drams, having there lesse then the worth 5 medines in each hundred drams, and have their paiment in 40 dayes made them in Saies or larines.

The custome of the said places, aswell inward as outward, are alike of all sorts of goods, to say 6 by the 100, and Toafo, Boabo, & scrivan medines 6 by the bale inward & outward, to say, 3 inward, and as much outward: but who so leaveth his goods in the custome house paieth nothing, where otherwise at the taking thereof away, he should pay 3 med. by the bale, and of the said goods there is no other duty to pay,

and this commeth to passe when the customers esteeme the goods too high. For in such a case they may be driven to take so much commoditie as the custome amounteth to, and not to pay them in money, for such is the order from the Grand Signior.

Having paid the custome, it behoveth to have a quittance or cocket sealed and firmed with the customers hand, in confirmation of the dispatch and clearing, and before departure thence, to cause the sayd customer to cause search to be made, to the end that at the voiages returne there be no cavillation made, as it oftentimes happeneth.

Note that 100 meticals of Balsara weigh 17 ounces and a halfe sottile Venetian, and of Aleppo drams 150, ut supra.

The fraight of the barkes from Ormuz to Balsara, I would say from Balsara to Ormuz, they pay according to the greatnesse thereof. To say, for cariage of 10 cares 180 larines, those of 15 cares 270 larines, those of 20 cares 360 larines, those of 30 cares 540 larines. Note that a cara is 4 quintals of Balsara. They pay also to the pilot of the barke for his owne cariage one care, and to all the rest of the mariners amongst them 3 cares fraight, which is in the whole 4 cares, and paying the abovesayd prises and fraights, they are at no charges of victuals with them, but it is requisite that the same be declared in the charter partie, with the condition that they lade not aboord one rotilo more then the fraight, under paines that finding more in Ormuz, it is forfeit, and besides that to pay the fraight of that which they have laden.

And in this accord it behoveth to deale warilie, and in the presence of the Ermin or some other honest man (whereof there are but few) for they are the worst people in all Arabia. And this diligence must be put in execution, to the end the barks may not be overladen, because they are to passe many sands betwixt Balsara and Ormuz.

[II. i. 273.]

ORMUZ:

The weight, measure, and money currant in the kingdom of Ormuz:

SPices and drugs they weigh by the bar, and of every sort of goods the weight is different. To say, of some drugs 3 quintals, and 3 erubi or roues, and other some 4 quintals 25 rotiloes, and yet both is called a barre, which barre, as well great as litle, is 20 frasoli, and every frasoll is 10 manas, and every mana 23 chiansi, and every chianso 10 meticals and a halfe. Note that every quintall maketh 4 erubi or roues, and every roue 32 rotiloes, & every rotilo 16 ounces, and every ounce 7 meticals, so that the quintall commeth to be 128 rotiloes, which is Aleppine 26 rotiloes and one third part, which is 132 li. english weight. And contrarywise ye quintal of Aleppo (which is 494 rotiloes 8 ounces english) maketh 477 rotiloes and a halfe of Ormuz, which is 3 quintals 2 roues, 29 rotiloes and a halfe.

What a rotilo is.

Note that there are bars of divers weights, ut supra, of which they bargaine simply, according to the sort of commoditie, but if they bargaine of the great barre, the same is 7 quintals and 24 rotiloes, which is 958 li. 9 ounces of London weight, and of Aleppo 193 rotiloes and a halfe.

Touching the money of Ormuz, they bargaine in marchandize at so many leches by the barre, which lech is 100 Asaries, and maketh larines 100 & a halfe, which maketh pardaos 38, & larines one halfe, at larines 5 by the pardao. One asarie is sadines 10, and every sadine is 100. danarie.

The larine is worth 5 sadines and one fourth part, so that the sadine is worth of Aleppo mony 1 medine and 1 fourth part, & the larine as in Balsara worth of Aleppo mony 6 medines & a half.

The pardao is 5 larines of Balsara.

There is also stamped in Ormuz a seraphine of gold,

which is litle and round, and is worth 24 sadines, which maketh 30 medines of Aleppo.

The Venetian mony is worth in Ormuz larines 88 per 100 meticals, & the roials are worth larines 86 lesse one sadine, which is every thousand meticals, 382 asures: but those that will not sel them, use to melt them, and make them so many larines in the king of Ormuz his mint, whereby they cleare 2 per 100, and somewhat more: and this they doe because neither Venetian money nor roials run as currant in Ormuz, per advise.

The measure of Ormuz is of 2 sorts, the one called codo which increaseth upon the measure of Aleppo 3 per 100, for bringing 100 pikes of any measurable wares from Aleppo to Ormuz, it is found in Ormuz to be 103 codes. Also these measures of Ormuz increase upon those of Balsara and Babylon 25 and two third parts per 100: for bringing 100 pikes of any measurable wares from Balsara or Babylon, there is found in Ormuz 125 codes and two third parts.

The other measure is called a vare, which was sent from the king of Portugall to the India, by which they sell things of small value, which measure is of 5 palmes or spans, and is one code and two third parts, so that buying 100 codes of any measurable wares, and returning to measure it by the sayd vare, there are found but 60 vares, contrarywise 100 vares make 166 codes and two third parts.

Note that al such ships as lade horses in Ormuz for Goa or any other place of India, lading 10 horses or upwards, in what places soever the said horses be taken a shore in the India, the marchandize which is to be discharged out of that ship wherein the said horses come, are bound to pay no custome at all, but if they lade one horse lesse then ten, then the goods are bound to pay the whole custome. And this law was made by Don Emanuel king of Portugall, but it is to be diligently foreseene, whither all those horses laden be bound

to pay the king his custome: for many times by the king of Portugall his commandement, there is favour shewed to the king of Cochin his brother in armes, so that his horses that come in the same ship, are not to answere custome. As for example: If there were 4 horses laden in one ship, all which were to pay custome to the king, and one other of the king of Cochins which were not to pay any custome, the same causeth all the marchandize of that ship to be subject to pay custome, per advise. But if they lade ten horses upon purpose to pay the king his custome in Goa, and in the voyage any of them should die in that case, if they bring the taile of the dead horse to the custome in Goa, then the marchandize is free from all custome, because they were laden in Ormuz to pay custome in Goa. Moreover, if the horses should die before the midst of the voyage, they pay no custome at all, and if they die in the mids of the voyage, then they pay halfe custome, but if any horse die after the mid voiage, they pay custome no lesse then if they arrive safe. Notwithstanding, the merchandize (whether the said horses die before or in the mid voyage or after the mid voiage) are free from all custome.

The custome of Ormuz is eleven in the 100, to say, 10 for the king, and 1 for the arming of the foists: but for small wares as glasses, and looking glasses of all sorts, and such like, made for apparell, pay no custome. But cloth of Wooll, Karsies, Mockaires, Chamlets, and all [II. i. 274.] sortes of Silke, Saffron, and such like, pay custome, being esteemed reasonably.

There is also another custome, which they call caida, which is, that one bringing his goods into Ormuz, with purpose to send ye same further into India, the same are bound to pay 3 by the 100, but none other are bound to pay this custome, except the Armenians, Moores, and Jewes: for the Portugals and Venetians pay nothing thereof.



THE EMPEROR AKBAR

Note y^t in Ormuz they abate tare of all sorts of commodities, by an order observed of custome.

The fraight from Ormuz to Chaul, Goa, and Cochin, is as foloweth: Mokaires larines 6 per table of 60 pikes. Aquariosa 8 larines by ordinarie chist, raisins 10 by chist, which is a quintall of roues 128. Ruvia of Chalangi larines 10 per quintall, glasses larines 8 per chist, of 4 foote and a halfe, glasses in great chists 14 & 15 larines by chist. Small wares larines 12 by chist of five foot. Tamari for Maschat sadines 2 and a half, and 3 by the fardle. Tamarie for Diu and Chaul 4 sadines, and 4 and a halfe by bale. Other drugs and things which come from Persia pay according to the greatnesse of the bales.

The fraight mentioned, they pay as appeareth, when they ship the sayd goods in ships where horses goe: otherwise not having horses, they pay somewhat lesse, because of the custom which they are to pay.

The use of the India ships is, that the patrones thereof are not at any charge neither with any passenger, nor yet with any mariner in the ship, but that every one at the beginning of the voyage doe furnish to maintaine his owne table (if he will eate) and for drinke they have a great jarre of water, which is garded with great custodie.

GOA.

The weight, measure, and mony currant in Goa.

THe quintall of Goa is 5 manas, and 8 larines, & the mana is 24 rotilos, so that the quintall of Goa is 128 rot. and every rot. is 16 ounces, which is of Venice weight 1 li. and a halfe, so that the quintall of Goa is 192 li. sotile Venice, which is 26 rotiloes 8 ounces Aleppine, and of London weight 132 li. English, as the weight of Ormuz.

All the marchandize, spices and drugs, are sold by this quintal, except some drugs, as lignum de China, Galanga, & others, whereof they bargaine at so much per candill,

advertising that there be two sorts of candill, one of 16 manas, the other of 20 manas, that of 16 manas commeth to be just 3 quintals, and that of 20 manas, 3 quintals, 3 roues. Note that 4 roues make a quintall, and the roue is 32 rotiloes, as in Ormuz.

Note that 4 roues make a quintall.

There is also another weight which they call Marco, which is eight ounces or halfe a rotilo of Goa, & 9 ounces of Venice sotile: with this they weigh amber, corall, muske, ambracan, civet, and other fine wares.

There is also another sort of weight called Mangiallino, which is 5 graines of Venice weight and therewith they weigh diamants and other jewels.

Note that in Goa they use not to abate any tare of any goods, except of sacks or wraps, & therfore it requireth great advisement in buying of the goods, especially in the muske of Tartaria which commeth by way of China in bladders, and so weigh it without any tare rebating.

Muske of Tartarie by ye way of China.

The measure of Goa is called a tode, which encreaseth upon the measure of Babylon & Balsara after the rate of 17 & one eight part by the 100, so that bringing 100 pikes of any measurable ware from thence to Goa, it is found 117 pikes 7 eight parts, and bringing 100 codes from Ormuz to Goa, there is found but 93 codes and one fourth part.

There is also the vare in Goa, which is just as the vare of Ormuz, and therewith they measure onely things that are of small value.

For the mony of Goa, there is a kind of mony made of lead and tin mingled, being thicke and round, and stamped on the one side with the spheare or globe of the world, and on the other side two arrowes & 5 rounds: and this kind of mony is called Basaruchi, and 15 of these make a vinton of naughty mony, and 5 vintons make a tanga, and 4 vintenas make a tanga of base money: so that the tanga of base mony is 60 basaruchies, and the tanga of good mony 75 basaruchies, & 5 tangas make a seraphine of gold, which in marchandize is worth 5 tangas good money: but if one would

change them into basaruchies, he may have 5 tangas, and 16 basaruchies, which overplus they cal cerafagio, & when they bargain of the pardaw of gold, each pardaw is ment to be 6 tangas good mony, but in marchandize they use not to demaund pardawes of gold in Goa, except it be for jewels and horses, for all the rest they take of seraphins of silver, per adviso.

The roials of plate, I say, the roial of 8 are worth per custome & commandement of the king of Portugall 400 reies, and every rey is one basaruchie & one fourth part, which maketh tangas 6, and 53 basaruchies as their just [II. i. 275.] value, but for that the said roials are excellent silver and currant in divers places of the India, and chiefly in Malacca, when the ships are to depart at their due times (called Monsons) every one to have the said roials pay more then they are worth, & the overplus, as is above-said they call serafagio. And first they give ye just value of the 100 roials of 8, and 5 tangas 50 basaruchies a piece, which done, they give seraphins 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, untill 22 by the 100, according as they are in request.

The duckat of gold is worth 9 tangas and a halfe good money, and yet not stable in price, for that when the ships depart from Goa to Cochin, they pay them at 9 tangas and 3 fourth partes, and 10 tangas, and that is the most that they are woorth.

The larines are woorth by just value basaruchies 93 and 3 fourth parts, and 4 larines make a seraphine of silver, which is 5 tangas of good money, and these also have serafagion of 6, 7, 8, 10, untill 16, by the 100, for when the ships depart for the North, to say, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, or Bassaim, all cary of the same, because it is money more currant then any other.

There is also a sort of seraphins of gold of the stampe of Ormuz, whereof there are but fewe in Goa, but being there, they are woorth five larines and somewhat more, according as they are in request.

There is also another litle sort of mony, round, having

on the one side a crosse, and on the other side a crowne, which is woorth one halfe a tanga of good money, and another of the same stampe lesse then that which they call Imitivo de buona moneda, which is worth 18 basaruches 3 fourth parts a piece.

Note that if a man bargaine in marchandize, it behooveth to demaund tangas of good money: for by nominating tangas onely, is understood to be base money of 60 basaruches, which wanteth of the good money ut supra.

The custome of Goa is 8 in the 100 inward, and as much outward, and the goods are esteemed justly rather to the marchants advantage then the kings. The custome they pay in this order. Comming with a ship from Ormuz to Goa without horses, they pay 8 in the 100 whether they sell part or all, but if they would carie of the sayd marchandise to any other place, they pay none other custome, except others buy it and carie it foorth of the countrey, and then they pay it 8 in the 100. And if one having paied the custome should sell to another with composition to passe it forth as for his proper accounts to save the custome, this may not be, because the seller is put to his oth, whether he send the goods for his owne account, or for the account of any others that have bought the same, and being found to the contrary, they pay custome as abovesaid. And in this order the marchants pay of all the goods which come from any part of the Indies. But if they come from Ormuz to Goa with horses, they are not subject to pay any custome inward, notwithstanding if they send all or any part thereof for any other place, or returne it to Ormuz, they pay the custome outward, although they could not sell.

They use also in Goa amongst the common sort to bargaine for coales, wood, lime & such like, at so many braganines, accounting 24 basaruches for one braganine, albeit there is no such mony stamped. The custome of the Portugals is, that any Moore or Gentile, of what

condition or state soever he be, may not depart from Goa to go within the land, without licence of certaine deputies deputed for that office, who (if they be Moores or Gentiles) doe set a seale upon the arme, having thereon the armes of Portugal, to be knowen of the porters of the citie, whether they have the said licence or no.

COCHIN.

The weight, measure, and money, currant in Cochin.

ALl the marchandise which they sell or buy within the sayd citie, they bargaine for it at so many serafines per quintal, which is 128. rotilos of just weight with ye quintall & rotilo of Goa and Ormuz: advertising that there are divers sorts of bars according to the sorts of commodities, and in traffiquing, they reason at so much the bar. Note that there are bars of 3 quintals & 3 quintals and halfe, and 4 quintals. They abate a used tare of all marchandize, according to the sort of goods, and order taken for the same.

The measure of Goa and Cochin are all one.

The money of Cochin are all the same sorts which are currant in Goa, but the duckat of gold in value is 10 tangas of good money.

The custome of Cochin as wel inward as outward for all strangers, is eight in the hundred, but those that have bene married foure yeere in the countrey pay but foure in the hundred, per adviso.

MALACCA. [II. i. 276.]

The weight, measure, and money of Malacca.

FOr the marchandise bought and sold in the citie they reckon at so much the barre, which barre is of divers sorts, great and small, according to the ancient custome of the said citie, & diversitie of the goods. But for the cloves they bargaine at so much the barre, which barre is 3 quintals, 2 roues and 10 rotilos. As I have abovesaid, all kind of drugs have their sorts of

barres limited. Note that every quintal is 4 roues, and every roue 32 rotilos, which is 128 rotilos the quintall, the which answereth to Aleppo 95 rotilos, and to London 472 li. per quintal.

The measures of Malacca are as the measures of Goa. In Malacca they abate tare according to their distinction and agreement, for that there is no just tare limited.

For the money of Malacca, the least money currant is of tinne stamped with the armes of Portugall, and 12 of these make a Chazza.

The Chazza is also of tinne with the said armes, and 2 of these make a challaine.

The Challaine is of tinne with the said armes, and 40 of these make a tanga of Goa good money, but not stamped in Malacca.

There is also a sort of silver money which they call Patachines, and is worth 6 tangas of good money, which is 360 reyes, and is stamped with two letters, S. T. which is S. Thomas on the one side, and the armes of Portugall on the other side.

There is also a kind of mony called cruzados stamped with the armes of Portugall, & is worth 6 tangas good mony, the larines are every 9 of them worth 2 cruzados, which is 12 tangas good money, and these larines be of those which are stamped in Balsara and Ormuz.

The roials of 8 they call Pardaos de Reales, and are worth 7 tangas of good money.

The custome of Malacca is 10 in the 100 as wel inward as outward, and those which pay the custome inwards, if in case they send the same goods for any other place within terme of a yeere and a day, pay no custome for the same.

A note of charges from Aleppo to Goa, as foloweth.

FOr camels from Aleppo to Birrha.	Medines 60 per *somme.
For mules from Aleppo to Birrha,	med. 45. per somme.
For custome at Birrha,	med. 10. per somme.
For Avania of the Cady at Birrha,	med. 200.
For 4 dishes raisins, and 20 pounds sope,	med. 35.
For a present to the Ermine the summe of	med. 400.
For a barke of 30 or 35 sommes. Duc. 60 is	med. 2400. per barke.
For meat for the men the summe of	med. 200.
For custome at Racca the summe of	med. 5. per somme.
For 3 platters of raisins, and 15 pounds of sope,	med. 25.
For custome to king Aborissei, Duc. 20. is	med. 800.
For custome at Dea the summe of	med. 230. per barke.
For 4 dishes raisins, and 20. pounds of sope.	med. 35.
For custome at Bosara, the summe of	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 dishes raisins, and 10 pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome in Anna, in 10 per summe,	med. 10. per somme.
For 4 dishes of raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 35.
For custome in Adite, medines 10 per barke,	med. 10. per barke.

** Or, by the Camels burden.*

For 2 dishes raisins, and 10 pound of sope, med. 17.
For custome at Gweke, med. 10. per barke.
For 2 dishes raisins, and 20 pound of sope, med. 17.
For custome in Ist, med. 10. per somme.
For 4 platters raisins, and 20 pound of sope, med. 35.
Charges of presents at Felugia, med. 30.
For camels from Felugia to Babylon, med. 30. per somme.
For custome in Babylon, as in the booke appeareth.
For a barke from Babylon to Balsara, med. 900.
For custome of small wares, at Corno, med. 20. per somme.
For custome of clothes at Corno, the summe of med. per somme.
For 3 dishes raisins, and 20 pound of sope, med. 26.

[II. i. 277.] For fraight from Balsara to Ormus, according to the greatnesse, as in this booke appeareth.
For custome in Ormus, as is abovesaid in this booke.
For fraight from Ormus to Goa, as is in this booke shewed.
For custome in Goa, as is abovesaid.

A declaration of the places from whence the goods subscribed doe come.

CLoves, from Maluco, Tarenate, Amboina, by way of Java.
Nutmegs, from Banda.
Maces from Banda, Java, and Malacca.
Pepper Gawrie, from Cochin.
Pepper common, from Malabar.
Sinnamon, from Seilan.
Tinne, from Malacca.

Sandals wilde, from Cochin.
Sandales domestick, from Malacca.
Verzini, from S. Thomas, and from China.
Spicknard, from Zindi, and Lahor.
Quicksilver, from China.
Galls, from Cambaia, Bengala, Istria & Syria.
Ginger Dabulin, from Dabul.
Ginger Belledin, from the Countrie within Cambaia.
Ginger Sorattin, from Sorat within Cambaia.
Ginger Mordassi, from Mordas within Cambaia.
Ginger Meckin, from Mecca.
Mirabolans of all sorts, from Cambaia.
White sucket from Zindi, Cambaia and China.
Corcunia, from divers places of India.
Corall of Levant, from Malabar.
Chomin, from Balsara.
Requitria, from Arabia Felix.
Garble of Nutmegs from Banda.
Sal Armoniacke, from Zindi and Cambaia.
Zedoari, from divers places of India.
Cubeb, from China.
Amomum, from China.
Camphora, from Brimeo neere to China.
Myrrha, from Arabia Felix.
Costo dulce, from Zindi, and Cambaia.
Borazo, from Cambaia, and Lahor.
Asa fetida, from Lahor.
Waxe, from Bengala.
Seragni, from Persia.
Cassia, from Cambaia, and from Gran Cayro.
Storax calamita, from Rhodes, to say, from Aneda, and Canemarie within Caramania.
Storax liquida, from Rhodes.
Tutia, from Persia.
Cagiers, from Malabar, and Maldiva.
Ruvia to die withall, from Chalangi.
Alumme di Rocca, from China, and Constantinople.
Chopra, from Cochin and Malabar.

Oppopanax, from Persia.
Lignum Aloes, from Cochin, China, and Malacca.
Demnar, from Siacca and Blinton.
Galangæ, from China, Chaul, Goa, & Cochin.
Laccha, from Pegu, and Balagvate.
Carabbe, from Almanie.
Coloquintida, from Cyprus.
Agaricum, from Alemania.
Scamonea, from Syria, and Persia.
Bdellium, from Arabia felix, and Mecca.
Cardamomum small, from Barcelona.
Cardamomum great, from Bengala.
Tamarinda, from Balsara.
Aloe Secutrina, from Secutra.
Aloe Epatica, from Pat.
Safran, from Balsara, and Persia.
Lignum de China, from China.
Rhaponticum, from Persia, and Pugia.
Thus, from Secutra.
Turbith, from Diu, and Cambaia.
Nuts of India, from Goa, and other places of India.
Nux vomica, from Malabar.
Sanguis Draconis, from Secutra.
Armoniago, from Persia.
Spodio di Cana, from Cochin.
Margaratina, from Balagvate.
Muske from Tartarie, by way of China.
Ambrachan, from Melinde, and Mosambique.
Indico, from Zindi and Cambaia.
Silkes fine, from China.
Long pepper, from Bengala and Malacca.
Latton, from China.
Momia, from the great Cayro.
Belzuinum Mandolalo, from Sian, and Baros.
Belzuinum burned, from Bonnia.
Castorium, from Almania.
Corallina, from the red sea.
Masticke, from Sio.

Mella, from Romania.
Oppium, from Pugia, and Cambaia.
Calamus Aromaticus, from Constantinople.
Capari, from Alexandria and other places.
Dates, from Arabia felix, and Alexandria.
Dictamnum album, from Lombardia.
Draganti, from Morea.
Euphorbium, from Barbaria.
Epithymum, from Candia.
Sena, from Mecca.
Gumme Arabike, from Zaffo.
Grana, from Coronto.
Ladanum, from Cyprus and Candia.
Lapis lazzudis, from Persia.
Lapis Zudassi, from Zaffetto. [II. i. 278.
Lapis Spongii is found in sponges.
Lapis Hæmatites, from Almanie.
Manna, from Persia.
Auripigmentum, from manie places of Turkie.
Pilatro, from Barbaria.
Pistaches, from Doria.
Worme-seede, from Persia.
Sumack, from Cyprus.
Sebesten, from Cyprus.
Galbanum, from Persia.
Dente d'Abolio, from Melinde, and Mosambique.
Folium Indicum, from Goa, and Cochin.
Diasprum viride, from Cambaia.
Petra Bezzvar, from Tartaria.
Sarcacolla, from Persia.
Melleghete, from the West parts.
Sugo di Requillicie, from Arabia felix.
Chochenillo, from the West India.
Rubarbe, from Persia, and China.

[The times

The times or seasonable windes called Monsons, wherein the ships depart from place to place in the East Indies.

NOte, that the Citie of Goa is the principall place of all the Orientall India, and the winter there beginneth the 15 of May with very great raine, and so continueth till the first of August, so that during that space, no shippe can passe over the barre of Goa, because through the continuall shoures of raine all the sandes joyne together neere unto a mountaine called Oghane, and all these sandes being joyned together, runne into the shoales of the barre and port of Goa, and can have no other issue, but to remaine in that port, and therefore it is shut up untill the first of August, but at the 10 of August it openeth by reason of the raine which ceaseth, and the sea doeth then scoure the sands away againe.

The monson from Goa to the Northward, to say, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Basaim, and other places.

The ships depart betwixt the tenth and 24 of August, for the Northward places abovesayde, and to these places they may saile all times of the yeere, except in the winter, which beginneth and endeth at the times abovesaid.

The monson from the North parts, for Goa.

The ships depart from Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, and other places Northwards for Goa, betwixt the 8 and 15 of Januarie, and come to Goa about the end of Februarie.

The first monson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart from Diu about the 15 of Januarie, and returne from the straights to Diu in the moneth of August.

The second monson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart betwixt the 25 and first of September, and returne from the straights to Diu, the first and 15 of May.

The monson from Secutra for Ormus.

The ships depart about the tenth of August for Ormus: albeit Secutra is an Island and hath but few ships, which depart as abovesaid.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land come to Goa.

About the fifteenth of September the Moores of the firme lande beginne to come to Goa, and they come from all parts, as well from Balagvate, Bezenegar, as also from Sudalcan, and other places.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land depart from Goa.

They depart from Goa betwixt the 10 and 15 day of November. Note that by going for the North is ment the departing from Goa, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Basaim, Ghassain, and other places unto Zindi: and by the South is understood, departing from Goa, for Cochin, and all that coast unto Cape Comori.

The first monson from Goa for Ormus.

The shippes depart in the moneth of October from Goa, for Ormus, passing with Easterly windes along the coast of Persia.

The second monson from Goa to Ormus.

The ships depart about the 20 of Januarie passing by the like navigation and windes as in the first monson, and this is called of the Portugals and Indians Entremonson.

The third monson from Goa to Ormus.

The ships depart betwixt the 25 of March, and 6 of Aprill, having Easterly windes, till they passe Secutra, and then they find Westerly windes, and therfore they set their course over for the coast of Arabia, till they come to Cape Rasalgate and the Straight of Ormus, and this monson is most troublesome of all: for they make [II. i. 279.] two navigations in the heigth of Seylan, which is 6 degrees and somewhat lower.

The first monson from Ormus for Chaul and Goa.

The ships depart from Ormus for Chaul, and Goa in the moneth of September, with North and Northeast windes.

The second monson from Ormus for Chaul and Goa.

The second monson is betwixt the five and twentie and last of December, with like winds as the former monson.

The third monson from Ormus for Chaul, and Goa.

The third monson the ships depart from Ormus, for Chaul and Goa, betwixt the first and 15 of April, and they saile with Southeast windes, East and Northeast windes, coasting upon the Arabia side from Cape Mosandon unto Cape Rasalgate, and having lost the sight of Cape Rasalgate, they have Westerly windes, and so come for Chaul and Goa, and if the said ships depart not before the 25 of April, they are not then to depart that monson, but to winter in Ormus because of the winter.

The first monson from Ormus for Zindi.

The ships depart for Ormus betwixt the 15 and 20 of Aprill.

The second monson from Ormus for Zindi.

The ships depart betwixt the 10 and 20 of October for Zindi from Ormus.

The monson from Ormus for the red sea.

The ships depart from Ormus betwixt the first and last of Januarie.

Hitherto I have noted the monsons of the ships departing from Goa to the Northward: Now follow the monsons wherein the ships depart from Goa to the Southward.

The monson from Goa for Calicut, Cochin, Seilan, and all that coast.

THe ships depart from those places betwixt the 1 and 15 of August, and there they find it navigable all the yeere except in the winter, which continueth as is aforesaid, from the 15 of May till the 10 of August. *Note.* In like maner the ships come from these places for Goa at every time in the yeere except in the winter, but of all other the best time is to come in November, December and January.

The first monson from Goa, for Pegu.

The ships depart from Goa, betwixt the 15 and 20 of April, and winter at S. Thomas, and after the 5 of August, they depart from S. Thomas for Pegu.

The second monson from Goa for Pegu.

The ships depart from Goa betwixt the 8 and 24 of August, going straight for Pegu, and if they passe the 24 of August, they cannot passe that monson, neither is there any more monsons till April as is aforesaid. Note that the chiefest trade is, to take money of S. Thomas rials, and patechoni, and to goe to S. Thomas, and there to buy Tellami, which is fine cloth of India, whereof there is great quantitie made in Coromandel, and brought thither, and other marchandise are not good for that place except some dozen of very faire Emeraulds orientall. For of golde, silver, and Rubies, there is sufficient store in Pegu. *Marchandize good for Pegu.*

The monson from Pegu for the Indies.

The ships depart from Pegu betwixt the 15 and 25 of Januarie, and come to Goa about the 25 of March, or in the beginning of April. Note, that if it passe the 10 of May before the sayde ships be arrived in Goa,

they cannot come thither that monson, and if they have not then fet the coast of India, they shall with great perill fetch S. Thomas.

The first monson from Goa for Malacca.

The ships depart betwixt the 15 and last of September, and arrive in Malacca about the end of October.

The second monson from Goa to Malacca.

The ships depart about the 5 of May from Goa, and arrive in Malacca about the 15 of June.

The first monson from Malacca to Goa.

The ships depart about the 10 of September, and come to Goa about the end of October.

The second monson from Malacca to Goa.

The ships depart from Malacca about the 10 of February, and come to Goa about the end of March. But if the said ships should stay till the 10 of May, [II. i. 280.] they cannot enter into Goa, and if at that time also they should not be arrived at Cochin, they are forced to returne to Malacca, because the winter and contrary windes then come upon them.

The monson from Goa for China.

The ships depart from Goa in the moneth of April.

The monson from China for Goa.

The ships depart to be the 10 of May in Goa, and being not then arrived, they turne backe to Cochin, and if they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Malacca.

The monson from Goa to the Moluccaes.

The ships depart about the 10 or 15 of May, which time being past, the shippes can not passe over the barre of Goa for the cause abovesaid.

The monson of the ships of the Moluccaes arrivall in Goa.

The ships which come from the Moluccaes arrive upon the bar of Goa about the 15 of April.



ORMUZ

The monsons of the Portingall ships for the Indies.

The ships which come from Portugall depart thence ordinarily betwixt the tenth & fifteenth of March, comming the straight way during the moneth of July to the coast of Melinde, and Mosambique, and from thence goe straight for Goa, and if in the moneth of July they should not be at the coast of Melinde, they can in no wise that yeere fetch Melinde, but returne to the Isle of Saint Helena, and so are not able, that time being past, to fetch the coast of India, and to come straight for Goa. Therefore (as is abovesaid) they returne to the Island of Saint Helena, and if they cannot make the said Island, then they runne as lost upon the coast of Guinea: but if the said ships be arrived in time upon the coast of Melinde, they set forwardes for Goa, and if by the fifteenth of September they cannot fetch Goa, they then goe for Cochin, but if they see they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Mosambique to winter there upon the sayd coast. Albeit in the yeere of our Lord 1580 there arrived the ship called San Lorenzo, being wonderfull sore sea-beaten, the eight of October, which was accounted as a myracle for that the like had not bene seene before. *Note.* *Note.*

The monson from India for Portugall.

The shippes depart from Cochin betweene the fifteenth and last of January, going on till they have sight of Capo de buona speranza, and the Isle of Saint Helena, which Islande is about the midway, being in sixteene degrees to the South. And it is a litle Island being fruitfull of all things which a man can imagine, with great store of fruit: and this Island is a great succour to the shipping which returne for Portugall. And not long since the said Island was found by the Portugales, and was discovered by a shippe that came from the Indies in a great storme, in which they found such abundance of wilde beastes, and boares, and all sort of

fruite, that by meanes thereof that poore ship which had beene foure moneths at sea, refreshed themselves both with water and meate very well, and this Island they called S. Helena, because it was discovered upon S. Helens day. And undoubtedly this Island is a great succour, and so great an ayde to the ships of Portugall, that many would surely perish if that helpe wanted. And therefore the king of Portugall caused a Church to be made there for devotion of S. Helena: where there are onely resident Eremits, and all other are forbidden to inhabite there by the kings commaundement, to the ende that the ships may be the more sufficiently furnished with victuals, because the ships which come *Note.* from India come but slenderly victualled, because there groweth no corne there, neither make they any wine: but the ships which come from Portugall to the Indies touch not in the sayd Island, because they set out being sufficiently furnished with bread and water from Portugall for eight moneths voyage. Any other people then the two Eremites abovesaid, cannot inhabite this Island, except some sicke man that may be set there a shore to remaine in the Eremites companie, for his helpe and recovery.

The monson from Goa to Mosambique.

The ships depart betwixt the 10 and 15 of Januarie.

The monson from Mosambique to Goa.

The ships depart betweene the 8 and last of August, and arrive in Chaul or Goa in the moneth of October, till the 15 of November.

The monson from Ormus to Bengala.

The ships depart betwixt the 15 and 20 of June, and goe to winter at Teve and depart thence about the 15 of August for Bengala.

The voyage passed by sea into Aegypt, by John Evesham Gentleman. Anno 1586.

[II. i. 281.]

THe 5 of December 1586 we departed from Gravesend in the Tiger of London, wherein was Master under God for the voyage Robert Rickman, and the 21. day at night we came to the Isle of Wight: departing from thence in the morning following we had a faire winde, so that on the 27 day wee came in sight of the rocke of Lisbone, and so sayling along we came in sight of the South Cape, the 29 of the same, and on the morrowe with a Westerly winde we entred the straights: and the second of January being as high as Cape de Gate, we departed from our fleete towards Argier. And the 4 day we arrived at the port of Argier aforesaid, where we staied till the first of March. At which time we set saile towardes a place called Tunis, to the Eastward of Argier 100 leagues, *Tunis.* where we arrived the 8 of the same. This Tunis is a small citie up 12 miles from the sea, and at the port or rode where shipping doe ride, is a castle or fort called Goletta, sometimes in the handes of the Christians, but now of the Turkes: at which place we remained till the third of Aprill: at which time wee set saile towardes Alexandria, and having sometime faire windes, sometime contrary, we passed on the 12 day betweene Sicilia and Malta (where neere adjoyning hath beene the fort and holde of the knights of the Rhodes) and so the 19 day we fell with the Isle of Candy, and from thence to Alexandria, where we arrived the 27 of April, and there continued till the 5 of October.

The said citie of Alexandria is an old thing decayed or ruinated, having bene a faire and great citie neere two miles in length, being all vauted underneath for provision of fresh water, which water commeth thither but once every yeere, out of one of the foure rivers of paradise (as it is termed) called Nilus, which in September floweth *The description of Alexandria.*

neere eighteene foote upright higher then his accustomed manner, and so the banke being cut, as it were a sluce, about thirty miles from Alexandria, at a towne called Rossetto, it doth so come to the saide Citie, with such aboundance, that barkes of twelve tunne doe come upon the same water, which water doth fill all the vauts, cesternes, and wels in the said Citie, with very good water, and doth so continue good, till the next yeere following: for they have there very litle raine or none at all, yet have they exceeding great dewes. Also they have very good corne, and very plentifull: all the Countrey is very hot, especially in the moneths of August, September, and October. Also within the saide Citie there is a pillar of Marble, called by the Turkes, King Pharaoes needle, & it is foure square, every square is twelve foote, and it is in height 90 foote. Also there is without the wals of the said Citie, about twentie score paces, another marble pillar, being round, called Pompey his pillar: this pillar standeth upon a great square stone, every square is fifteene foote, and the same stone is fifteene foote high, and the compasse of the pillar is 37 foote, and the heigth of it is 101 feete, which is a wonder to thinke how ever it was possible to set the said pillar upon the said square stone. The port of the said Citie is strongly fortified with two strong Castles, and one other Castle within the citie, being all very well planted with munition: and there is to the Eastward of this *Cayro.* Citie, about three dayes journey the citie of Grand Cayro, otherwise called Memphis: it hath in it by report of the registers bookes which we did see, to the number of 2400 Churches, and is wonderfully populous, and is one dayes journey about the wals, which was journeyed by one of our Marriners for triall thereof. Also neere to the saide citie there is a place called the Pyramides, being, as I may well terme it, one of the nine wonders of the world: that is, seven severall places of flint and marble stone, foure square, the wals thereof are seven yards thicke in those places that we did see: the squarenes is in length

about twentie score every square, being built as it were a pointed diamond, broad at the foote, and small or narrow at the toppe: the heigth of them, to our judgement, doth surmount twise the heigth of Paules steeple: within the saide Pyramides, no man doth know what there is, for that they have no entrance but in the one of them, there is a hole where the wall is broken, and so we went in there, having torch-light with us, for that it hath no light to it, and within the same, is as it were a great hall, in the which there is a costly tombe, which tombe they say, was made for king Pharao in his life time, but he was not buried there, being drowned in the red sea: also there are certaine vauts or dungeons, which goe downe verie deepe under those Pyramides with faire staires, but no man dare venter to goe downe into them, by reason that they can cary no light with them, for the dampe of the earth doth put out the light: the red sea is but three daies journey from this place, and Jerusalem about seven dayes journey from thence: but to returne to Cayro. There is a Castle wherin is the house that Pharaoes wives were kept in, and in the Pallace or Court thereof stande 55 marble pillars, in such order, as our Exchange standeth in London: the said pillars are in heigth 60 foote, and in compasse 14 foote: also in the [II. i. 282.] said Citie is the castle were Joseph was in prison, where to this day they put in rich men, when the king would have any summe of money of them: there are seven gates to the sayd prison, and it goeth neere fiftie yardes downe right: also, the water that serveth this castle, commeth out of the foresaide river of Nilus, upon a wall made with arches, five miles long, and it is twelve foote thicke. Also there are in old Cayro two Monasteries, the one called S. Georges, the other S. Maries: & in the Courts where the Churches be, was the house of king Pharao. In this Citie is great store of marchandize, especially pepper, and nutmegs, which come thither by land, out of the East India: and it is very plentifull of all maner of victuals, especially of bread, rootes, and

hearbes: to the Eastwards of Cayro, there is a Well, five miles off, called Matria, and as they say, when the Virgin Marie fled from Bethleem, and came into Ægypt, and being there, had neither water, nor any other thing to sustaine them, by the providence of God, an Angell came from heaven, and strake the ground with his wings, where presently issued out a fountaine of water: and the wall did open where the Israelites did hide themselves, which fountaine or well is walled foure square till this day. Also we were at an old Citie, all ruinated and destroyed, *Carthage.* called in olde time, the great Citie of Carthage where Hannibal and Queene Dido dwelt: this Citie was but narrow, but was very long: for there was, and is yet to bee seene, one streete three mile long, to which Citie fresh water was brought upon arches (as afore) above 25 miles, of which arches some are standing to this day. Also we were at divers other places on the coast, as we came from Cayro, but of other antiquities we saw but *Argier.* few. The towne of Argier which was our first and last port, within the streights standeth upon the side of an hill, close upon the sea shore: it is very strong both by sea and land, and it is very well victualed with all manner of fruites, bread and fish good store, and very cheape. It is inhabited with Turkes, Moores, and Jewes, and so are Alexandria and Cayro. In this towne are a great number of Christian captives, wherof there are of Englishmen onely fifteene, from which port we set sayle towardes England, the seventh of Januarie, Anno 1587, and the 30 day of the sayd moneth, we arrived at Dartmouth on the coast of England.

The second voyage of M. Laurence Aldersey, to the Cities of Alexandria, and Cayro in Aegypt. Anno 1586.



Embarked my selfe at Bristoll, in the Hercules, a good ship of London, and set saile the 21 day of Februarie, about ten of the clocke in the morning, having a merry winde: but the 23 day, there arose a very great storme, and in the mids of it we descried a small boate of the burden of ten tunnes, with foure men in her, in very great danger, who called a maine for our helpe. Whereupon our Master made towardes them, and tooke them into our ship, and let the boate, which was laden with timber, and appertained to Chepstow, to runne a drift. The same night about midnight arose another great storme, but the winde was large with us, untill the 27 of the same moneth, which then grew somewhat contrary: yet notwithstanding we held on our course, and the tenth day of March, we descried a saile about Cape Sprat, which is a litle on this side the streight of Gibraltare, but we spake not with her. The next day we descried twelve sayle more, with whom we thought to have spoken, to have learned what they were, but they made very fast away, and we gave them over.

Thursday the 16 of March, we had sight of the streights, and of the coast of Barbary. The 18 day we passed them, and sailed towards Patras. Upon the 23 of March, we met with the Centurion of London which came from Genoa, by whom we sent letters to England, and the foure men also which we tooke in, upon the coast of England, beforementioned.

The 29 of March we came to Goleta a small Iland, and had sight of two shippes, which we judged to be of England. *Goleta.*

Tuesday the fourth of Aprill, we were before Malta, *Malta.*

and being there becalmed, our Maister caused the two ship boates to be had out, and they towed the ship, till we were out of sight of the Castle of Malta. The *Zante.* 9 day of Aprill we came to Zante, and being before the towne, William Aldridge, servant to Master Thomas Cordall of London, came aboord us, with whom our Master and twelve more of our company, thought to have gone on shoare, but they could not be permitted: *Patras.* so we all came aboord againe, and went to Patras, where we arrived upon good Friday, and lay there with good entertainement at the English house, where was the Consull Master Grimes, Ralph Ashley, and John Doddington, who very kindly went with us, and shewed us the pleasures of the towne.

They brought us to the house of the Cady, who was [II. i. 283.] made then to understand of the 20 Turks that wee had aboord, which were to goe to Constantinople, being redeemed out of captivitie, by sir Francis Drake in the West Indies, and brought with him into England, and by order of the Queenes Majestie sent now into their Countrey. Whereupon the Cady commaunded them to be brought before him, that he might see them: and when he had talked with them, and understood howe strangely they were delivered, hee marveiled much, and admired the Queenes Majestie of England, who being but a woman, is notwithstanding of such power and renowne amongst all the princes of Christendome, with many other honourable wordes of commending her Majestie. So he tooke the names of those 20. Turkes, and recorded them in their great bookes, to remaine in perpetuall memory. After this, our foresaid countreymen brought mee to the Chappel of S. Andrew where his tombe or sepulchre is, and the boord upon which he was beheaded, which boord is now so rotten, that if any man offer to cut it, it falleth to powder, yet I brought some of it away with me.

Upon Tuesday in Easter weeke, wee set out towards Zante againe, and the 24. of April with much adoe, wee

were all permitted to come on shoare, and I was caried to the English house in Zante, where I was very well entertained. The commodities of Zante are Currans and oyle: the situation of the Towne is under a very great hill, upon which standeth a very strong Castle, which commaundeth the Towne. At Zante we tooke in a Captaine and 16. souldiers, with other passengers. Wee departed from Zante upon Tuesday the 15. of April, and the next day we ankered at a small Island, called Strivalia, which is desolate of people, saving a fewe religious men, who entertained us well, without taking any money: but of courtesie we bestowed somewhat upon them for their maintenance, and then they gave us a couple of leane sheepe, which we caried aboord. The last day of Aprill, wee arrived at Candie, at a Castle, called Sowday, where wee set the Captaine, Souldiers, and Mariners ashoare, which wee tooke in at Zante, with all their carriage.

Strivalia.

Candie.

The second day of May wee set saile againe, and the fourth day came to the Islands of Milo, where we ankered, and found the people there very courteous, and tooke in such necessaries as we wanted. The Islands are in my judgement a hundred in number, and all within the compasse of a hundred miles.

May.

The Islands of Milo, in olde time called Sporades.

The 11. day, the Chaus, which is the greatest man there in authoritie, for certaine offences done in a little Chappell by the water side, which they saide one of our shippe had done, and imputed it to mee, because I was seene goe into it three dayes before, came to us, and made much a doe, so that we were faine to come out of our shippe armed: but by three pieces of golde the brabling was ended, and we came to our shippe. This day wee also set saile, and the next day passed by the Castle of Serpeto, which is an old ruinated thing, and standeth under a hils side.

The 13. day we passed by the Island of Paris, and the Island of the bankes of Helicon, and the Island called Ditter, where are many boares, and the women bee

witches. The same day also wee passed by the Castle of Tino, standing upon a very high mountaine, and neere unto it is the Island of Diana.

Sio. The 15. of May, wee came to Sio, where I stayed thirtie and three dayes. In it is a very proper Towne, after the building of that Countrey, and the people are civil: and while we were here, there came in sixe Gallies, which had bene at Alexandria, and one of them which was the Admiral, had a Prince of the Moores prisoner, whom they tooke about Alexandria, and they meant to present him to the Turke. The towne standeth in a valley, and a long the water side pleasantly. There are about 26. winde-mils about it, and the commodities of it are cotton wooll, cotton yarne, mastike, and some other drugs.

As we remained at Sio, there grew a great controversie betweene the mariners of the Hercules, and the Greekes of the Towne of Sio, about the bringing home of the Turkes, which the Greekes tooke in ill part, and the boyes cried out, Vive el Re Philippe: whereupon our men beate the boyes, and threwe stones, and so a broile beganne, and some of our men were hurt: but the Greekes were fetcht out of their houses, and manacled together with yrons, and threatned to the Gallies: about fourtie of them were sent to the prison, and what became of them, when we were gone, we know not, for we went thence within two dayes after, which was the 19. of June.

Singonina. The 20. day wee passed by the Island of Singonina, an Island risen by the casting of stones in that place: the substance of the ground there is brimstone, and burneth sometimes so much that it bloweth up the rockes.

The 24. of June wee came to Cyprus, and had sight in the way of the aforesaide sixe Gallies, that came from Alexandria, one whereof came unto us, and required a present for himselfe, and for two of the other Gallies, which we for quietnesse sake gave them.

The 27. of June, wee came to Tripolie, where I stayed till the fift of July, and then tooke passage in a smal barke called a Caramusalin, which was a passage boat, and was bound for Bichieri, thirteene miles on this side Alexandria, which boate was fraighted with Turkes, Moores, and Jewes. [II. i. 284.]

The 20. day of July, this barke which I passed in ranne upon a rocke, and was in very great danger, so that we all began some to be ready to swimme, some to leape into the shippe boate, but it pleased God to set us quickly off the rocke, and without much harme.

Bichieri.

The 28. of July I came to Bichieri, where I was well entertained of a Jewe which was the Customer there, giving me Muskadine, and drinking water himselfe: having broken my fast with him, he provided mee a Camell for my carriage, and a Mule for mee to ride upon, and a Moore to runne by me to the City of Alexandria, who had charge to see mee safe in the English house, whither I came, but found no Englishmen there: but then my guide brought mee aboord a ship of Alderman Martins, called the Tyger of London, where I was well received of the Master of the said ship, whose name was Thomas Rickman, and of all the company.

The English house in Alexandria.

The said Master having made me good cheere, and made me also to drinke of the water of Nilus, having the keyes of the English house, went thither with me himselfe, & appointed mee a faire chamber, and left a man with me to provide me all things that I needed, and every day came himselfe to me, and caried me into the City, and shewed me the monuments thereof, which be these.

The monuments of Alexandria.

Hee brought mee first to Pompey his pillar, which is a mighty thing of gray marble, and all of one stone, in height by estimation above 52. yards, and the compasse about sixe fadome.

The City hath three gates, one called the gate of Barbaria, the other of Merina, and the thirde of Rossetto.

He brought me to a stone in the streete of the Citie, whereupon S. Marke was beheaded: to the place where S. Katherine died, having there hid herselfe, because she would not marry: also to the Bath of S. Katherine.

I saw there also Pharaos needle, which is a thing in height almost equall with Pompeys pillar, and is in compasse five fadome, and a halfe, and all of one stone.

I was brought also to a most brave and daintie Bath, where we washed our selves: the Bath being of marble, and of very curious workemanship.

The Citie standeth upon great arches, or vawtes, like unto Churches, with mightie pillars of marble, to holde up the foundation: which arches are built to receive the water of the river of Nilus, which is for the use of the Citie. It hath three Castles, and a hundred Churches: but the part that is destroyed of it, is sixe times more then that part which standeth.

The last day of July, I departed from Alexandria towards Cayro in a passage boate, wherein first I went *Rossetto.* to Rossetto, standing by the river side, having 13. or 14. great churches in it, their building there is of stone and bricke, but as for lodging, there is litle, except we bring it with us.

From Rossetto wee passed along the river of Nilus, which is so famous in the world, twise as broad as the Thames at London: on both sides grow date trees in great abundance. The people be rude, insomuch that a man cannot traveile without a Janizary to conduct him.

The Turkes Lent. The time that I stayed in Ægypt was the Turkes and Moores Lent, in all which time they burne lamps in their churches, as many as may hang in them: their Lent endureth 40. dayes, and they have three Lents in the yere: during which time they neither eate nor drink in the day time, but all the night they do nothing else.

Betwixt Rossetto and Cayro there are along the water side three hundred cities and townes, and the length of the way is not above three hundred miles.

To this famous Citie of Cayro I came the fift day of August, where I found M. William Alday, and William Cæsar, who intertained me in very good sort. M. Cæsar brought mee to see the Pyramides which are three in number, one whereof king Pharao made for his owne tombe, the tombe it selfe is almost in the top of it: the monuments bee high and in forme 4. square, and every of the squares is as long as a man may shoote a roving arrowe, and as high as a Church, I sawe also the ruines of the Citie of Memphis hard by those Pyramides. *Cayro.*

The house of Joseph is yet standing in Cayro, which is a sumptuous thing, having a place to walke in of 56. mighty pillars, all gilt with gold, but I saw it not, being then lame.

The 11. day of August the lande was cut at Cayro, to let in the water of the river of Nilus, which was done with great joy and triumph.

The 12. of August I set from Cayro towards Alexandria againe, and came thither the 14. of August. The 26. day there was kept a great feast of the Turkes and Moores, which lasted two dayes, and for a day they never ceased shooting off of great Ordinance.

From Alexandria I sailed to Argier, where I lay with M. Typton Consull of the English nation, who used me most kindly, and at his owne charge. Hee brought mee to the kings Court, and into the presence of the King, to see him, and the maners of the Court: the King doeth onely beare the name of a King, but the greatest government is in the hands of the souldiers. *The English Consul at Argier.* [II. i. 285.]

The king of Potanca is prisoner in Argier, who comming to Constantinople, to acknowledge a duety to the great Turke, was betrayed by his owne nephew, who wrote to the Turke, that hee went onely as a spy, by that meanes to get his kingdome. I heard at Argier of seven Gallies that were at that time cast away at a towne called Formentera: three of them were of Argier, the other foure were the Christians.

We found here also 13. Englishmen, which were by force of weather put into the bay of Tunis, where they were very ill used by the Moores, who forced them to leave their barke: whereupon they went to the Councell of Argier, to require a redresse and remedy for the injurie. They were all belonging to the shippe, called the Golden Noble of London, whereof Master Birde is owner. The Master was Stephen Haselwood, and the Captaine Edmond Bence.

The thirde day of December, the pinnesse called the Mooneshine of London, came to Argier with a prize, which they tooke upon the coast of Spaine, laden with sugar, hides, and ginger: the pinnesse also belonging to the Golden Noble: and at Argier they made sale both of shippe and goods, where wee left them at our comming away, which was the seventh day of Januarie, and the first day of February, I landed at Dartmouth, and the seventh day came to London, with humble thankes to Almightie God, for my safe arrivall.

A true report of a worthy fight, performed in the voyage from Turkie, by five Ships of London, against 11. Gallies, and two Frigats of the King of Spaines, at Pantalarea within the Streights, Anno, 1586. Written by Philip Jones.

THe Marchants of London, being of the incorporation of the Turky trade, having received intelligences, and advertisements, from time to time, that the King of Spaine grudging at the prosperitie of this kingdome, had not onely of late arrested al English ships, bodies, and goods, in Spaine, but also maligning the quiet trafique which they used to and in the dominions, and provinces, under the obedience of the Great Turke, had given order to the Captaines of his gallies in the

Levant, to hinder the passage of all English ships, and to endevour by their best meanes, to intercept, take, and spoile them, their persons, and goods: they hereupon thought it their best course to set out their fleete for Turkie, in such strength and abilitie for their defence, that the purpose of their Spanish enemie might the better be prevented, and the voyage acomplished with greater securitie to the men and shippes. For which cause, five tall, and stoute shippes, appertaining to London, and intending onely a Marchants voyage, were provided and furnished with all things belonging to the Seas; the names whereof were these:

1. The Marchant Royall, a very brave and good shippe, and of great report.
2. The Tobie.
3. The Edward Bonaventure.
4. The William, and John.
5. The Susan.

These five departing from the coast of England, in the moneth of November 1585. kept together as one fleete, til they came as high as the Isle of Sicile, within the Levant. And there, according to the order and direction of the voyage, each shippe began to take leave of the rest, and to separate himselfe, setting his course for the particular port, whereunto hee was bounde: one for Tripolie in Syria, another for Constantinople, the chiefe Citie of the Turkes Empire, situated upon the coast of Romania, called of olde, Thracia, and the rest to those places, whereunto they were privatly appointed. But before they devided themselves, they altogether consulted, of and about a certaine and speciall place for their meeting againe after the lading of their goods at their severall portes. And in conclusion, the generall agreement was to meete at Zante, an Island neere to the maine continent of the West part of Morea, well knowen of all the Pilots, & thought to be the fittest place of their Rendevous. Concerning which meeting, it was also covenanted on

eche side, and promised, that whatsoever ship of these 5. should first arrive at Zante, should there stay and expect the comming of the rest of the fleete, for the space of twentie dayes. This being done, ech man made his best hast according as winde and wether woulde serve him to fulfill his course, and to dispatch his businesse; and no neede was there to admonish or incourage any man, seeing no time was ill spent, nor opportunitie omitted on any side, in the performance of ech mans duetie, according to his place.

[II. i. 286.] It fell out that the Tobie which was bound for Constantinople had made such good speede, and gotten such good weather, that she first of al the rest came back to the appointed place of Zante, and not forgetting the former conclusion, did there cast ancre, attending the arrivall of the rest of the fleete, which accordingly (their busines first performed) failed not to keepe promise. The first next after the Tobie was the Royal Marchant, which together with the William and John came from Tripolie in Syria, and arrived at Zante within the compasse of the foresaide time limitted. These ships in token of the joy on all parts conceived for their happy meeting, spared not the discharging of their Ordinance, the sounding of drums & trumpets, the spreading of Ensignes with other warlike and joyfull behaviours, expressing by these outward signes, the inward gladnesse of their mindes, being all as ready to joyne together in mutuall consent to resist the cruel enemie, as now in sporting maner they made myrth and pastime among themselves. These three had not bene long in the haven, but the Edward Bonaventure also, together with the Susan her consort, were come from Venice with their lading, the sight of whom increased the joy of the rest, and they no lesse glad of the presence of the others, saluted them in most friendly and kinde sort, according to the maner of the Seas: and whereas some of these ships stoode at that instant in some want of victuals, they were all content

to stay in the port, till the necessities of ech shippe were supplied, and nothing wanted to set out for their returne.

In this port of Zante, the newes was fresh and currant, of two severall armies and fleetes provided by the king of Spaine, and lying in waite to intercept them: the one consisting of 30. strong Gallies, so well appointed in all respects for the warre, that no necessary thing wanted: and this fleete hovered about the Streights of Gibraltar. The other armie had in it 20. Gallies, whereof some were of Sicilie, and some of the Island of Malta, under the charge and government of John Andrea Dorea, a Captaine of name serving the king of Spaine. These two divers and strong fleetes waited and attended in the Seas for none, but the English shippes, and no doubt made their accompt and sure reckoning that not a shippe should escape their furie. And the opinion also of the inhabitants of the Isle of Zante was, that in respect of the number of Gallies in both these armies, having received such streight commandement from the king, our ships and men being but few, and little in comparison of them, it was a thing in humane reason impossible, that wee should passe either without spoiling, if we resisted, or without composition at the least, and acknowledgement of duetie to the Spanish king.

But it was neither the report of the attendance of these armies, nor the opinions of the people, nor any thing else, that could daunt or dismay the courages of our men, who grounding themselves upon the goodnesse of their cause, and the promise of God, to bee delivered from such as without reason sought their destruction, caried resolute mindes, notwithstanding all impediments to adventure through the Seas, and to finish their Navigation, maugre the beards of the Spanish souldiers. But least they should seeme too carelesse, and too secure of their estate, and by laying the whole and entire burden of their safetie upon Gods providence, should foolishly presume altogether of his helpe, and neglect the meanes

which was put into their handes, they failed not to enter into counsell among themselves, and to deliberate advisedly for their best defence. And in the end with generall consent, the Marchant Royall was appointed Admirall of the fleete, and the Tobie Viceadmiral, by whose orders the rest promised to be directed, and ech shippe vowed not to breake from another, whatsoever extremitie should fall out, but to stand to it to the death, for the honour of their Countrey, and the frustrating of the hope of the ambitious and proud enemie.

Thus in good order they left Zante and the Castle of Græcia, and committed themselves againe to the Seas, and proceeded in their course and voyage in quietnes, without sight of any enemie, till they came neere to Pantalarea, an Island so called, betwixt Sicilie, and the coast of Africke: into sight whereof they came the 13. day of July 1586. And the same day in the morning about 7. of the clocke they descried 13. sailes in number, which were of the Gallies, lying in waite of purpose for them, in and about that place. As soone as the English ships had spied them, they by and by according to a common order, made themselves ready for a fight, layed out their Ordinance, scoured, charged, and primed them, displayed their ensignes, and left nothing undone to arme themselves throughly. In the meane time, the Gallies more and more approched the ships, and in their banners there appeared the armes of the Isles of Sicilia, and Malta, being all as then in the service and pay of the Spaniard. Immediatly, both the Admirals of the Gallies sent from ech of them a frigate, to the Admiral of our English ships, which being come neere them, the Sicilian frigat first hailed them, and demanded of them whence they were? They answered that they were of England, the armes whereof appeared in their colours. Whereupon the saide frigat expostulated with them, and asked why they delayed to sende or come with their Captaines and pursers to Don Pedro de Leiva their Generall, to

acknowledge their duty and obedience to him in the name of the Spanish king, Lord of those seas? Our men replied, and said, that they owed no such duetie nor obedience to him, and therefore would acknowledge none, but commanded the frigat to depart with that answere, and not to stay longer a brabling, upon her perill. With that away she went, and up comes toward them the other frigat of Malta, and shee in like sort hailed the Admiral, and would needs know whence they were, and where they had bene. Our Englishmen in the Admirall, not disdaining an answere, tolde them that they were of England, Marchants of London, had bene at Turkie, and were now returning home: and to be requited in this case, they also demaunded of the frigat whence she and the rest of the gallies were: the messenger answered, we are of Malta, and for mine owne part my name is Cavallero. These Gallies are in service and pay to the king of Spaine, under the conduct of Don Pedro de Leiva a noble man of Spaine, who hath bene commanded hither by the King with this present force and armie, of purpose to intercept you. You shall therefore (quoth he) do well to repaire to him to know his pleasure, he is a noble man of good behaviour and courtesie, and meanes you no ill. The Captaine of the English Admiral, whose name was M. Edward Wilkinson, replied and said. We purpose not at this time to make triall of Don Pedro his courtesie, whereof we are suspitious and doubtful, and not without good cause: using withall good words to the messenger, and willing him to come aboord him, promising securitie and good usage, that thereby he might the better knowe the Spaniards minde: whereupon he in deed left his frigat, and came aboord him, whom hee intertained in friendly sort, and caused a cuppe of wine to be drawne for him, which he tooke and beganne, with his cap in his hand, and with reverend termes to drinke to the health of the Queene of England, speaking very honourably of her Majestie, and giving good speeches of the courteous [II. i. 287.]

usage and interteinement that he himselfe had received in London, at the time that the duke of Alenson, brother to the late French king was last in England: and after he had well drunke, hee tooke his leave, speaking well of the sufficiencie and goodnesse of our shippes, and especially of the Marchant Royal, which he confessed to have seene before, riding in the Thames neere London. He was no sooner come to Don Pedro de Leiva the Spanish general, but he was sent off againe, and returned to the English Admirall, saying that the pleasure of the Generall was this, that either their Captaines, Masters and Pursers should come to him with speed, or else hee would set upon them, and either take them or sinke them. The reply was made by M. Wilkinson aforesaid, that not a man should come to him: and for the bragge and threat of Don Pedro, it was not that Spanish bravado that should make them yeeld a jot to their hinderance, but they were as ready to make resistance, as he to offer an injurie. Whereupon Cavallero the messenger left bragging, and began to perswade them in quiet sort, and with many wordes, but all his labour was to no purpose, and as his threat did nothing terrifie them, so his perswasion did nothing moove them to doe that which hee required. At the last he intreated to have the Marchant of the Admirall caried by him as a messenger to the Generall, that so he might be satisfied, and assured of their mindes by one of their owne company. But M. Wilkinson would agree to no such thing, although Richard Rowit the marchant himselfe seemed willing to bee imployed in that message, and laboured by reasonable perswasions to induce M. Wilkinson to graunt it, as hoping to be an occasion by his presence and discreet answeres to satisfie the Generall, and thereby to save the effusion of Christian blood, if it should grow to a battel. And he seemed so much the more willing to be sent, by how much deeper the othes and protestations of this Cavallero were, that he would (as hee was a true knight and a souldier) deliver him backe

againe in safetie to his company. Albeit, M. Wilkinson, which by his long experience had received sufficient triall of Spanish inconstancie and perjurie, wished him in no case to put his life and libertie in hazard upon a Spaniards othe. But at last, upon much intreatie, hee yeelded to let him go to the General, thinking in deed, that good speeches and answeres of reason would have contented him, whereas otherwise refusall to do so, might peradventure have provoked the more discontentment.

M. Rowit therefore passing to the Spanish Generall, the rest of the Gallies having espied him, thought in deed that the English were rather determined to yeelde, then to fight, and therefore came flocking about the frigat, every man crying out, Que nuevas, que nuevas, Have these English men yeelded? the frigat answered, Not so, they neither have, nor purpose to yeeld, onely they have sent a man of their company to speake with our Generall: and being come to the Gallie wherein he was, he shewed himselfe to M. Rowit in his armour, his guard of souldiers attending upon him in armour also, and began to speake very proudly in this sort: Thou Englishman, from whence is your fleete, why stand ye aloofe off, knowe ye not your duetie to the Catholique King, whose person I here represent? Where are your billes of lading, your letters, pasports, and the chiefe of your men? Thinke ye my attendance in these seas to be in vaine, or my person to no purpose? Let al these things be done out of hand as I command, upon paine of my further displeasure and the spoyle of you all: These [II. i. 288.] wordes of the Spanish Generall were not so outragiously pronounced as they were mildly answered by M. Rowit, who tolde him that they were al Marchantmen, using trafique in honest sort, and seeking to passe quietly, if they were not urged further then reason. As for the king of Spaine, he thought (for his part) that there was amitie betwixt him and his soveraigne the Queene of England, so that neither he nor his officers should goe

about to offer any such injurie to English Marchar who as they were farre from giving offence to any m so they would be loath to take an abuse at the handes any, or sit downe to their losse, where their abilitie v able to make defence. And as touching his commani ment aforesaide, for the acknowledging of duetie, in su particular sort, he told him, that where there was dutie owing, there none should be performed, assuri him that their whole company and shippes in gener stood resolutely upon the negative, and would not ye to any such unreasonable demaund, joyned with su imperious and absolute maner of commanding. W then, said he, if they wil neither come to yeeld, nor sh obedience to me in the name of my king, I wil eitl sinke them or bring them to harbor, and so tell th from me. With that the frigat came away with l Rowit, and brought him aboord the English Admi againe according to promise: who was no sooner entr in, but by and by defiance was sounded on both sid the Spaniards hewed off the noses of the Gallies, tl nothing might hinder the levell of the shot, and t English on the other side couragiously prepared thei selves to the combat, every man according to his roon bent to performe his office with alacritie and diligen In the meane time a Cannon was discharged from t Admirall of the gallies, which being the onset of t fight, was presently answered by the English Admi with a Culvering: so the skirmish began, and grew h and terrible, there was no powder nor shot spared: e English ship matched it selfe in good order against tv Spanish Gallies, besides the inequalitie of the frigats the Spaniards side: and although our men perform their parts with singular valure, according to th strength, insomuch that the enemie as amased therewi would oftentimes pause and stay, and consult what w best to be done, yet they ceased not in the midst their businesse to make prayer to Almighty God t revenger of al evils, and the giver of victories, that

would please him to assist them in that good quarell of theirs, in defending themselves against so proud a tyrant, to teach their handes to warre, and their fingers to fight, that the glory of the victory might redound to his Name, and to the honor of true Religion which the insolent enemie sought so much to overthrowe. Contrarily, the foolish Spaniardes cried out according to their maner, not to God, but to our Lady (as they terme the virgin Mary) saying, O Lady helpe, O blessed Lady give us the victory, and the honor thereof shalbe thine. Thus with blowes & prayers on both sides the fight continued furious and sharpe, and doubtful a long time to which part the victory would incline: til at the last the Admiral of the Gallies of Sicilie began to warpe from the fight, and to holde up her side for feare of sinking, and after her went also two others in like case, whom al the sort of them inclosed, labouring by all their meanes to keepe them above water, being ready by the force of English shot which they had received to perish in the seas: & what slaughter was done among the Spaniards themselves, the English were uncertaine, but by a probable conjecture apparant afar off, they supposed their losse was so great, that they wanted men to continue the charging of their pieces: whereupon with shame and dishonor, after 5. houres spent in the battel, they withdrew themselves: and the English contented in respect of their deepe lading, rather to continue their voyage then to follow the chase, ceased from further blowes, with the losse onely of two men slaine amongst them all, and another hurt in his arme, whom M. Wilkinson with his good words and friendly promises did so comfort, that he nothing esteemed the smart of his wound in respect of the honour of the victory, and the shamefull repulse of the enemy.

A fight of five houres.

Thus with duetiful thankes to the mercy of God for his gracious assistance in that danger, the English ships proceeded in their Navigation, and comming as high as Alger, a port towne upon the coast of Barbary, they fell

with it, of purpose to refresh themselves after their wearinesse, and to take in such supply of fresh water & victuals, as they needed: they were no sooner entred into the port, but immediatly the king thereof sent a messenger to the ships to knowe what they were, with which messenger the chiefe master of ech shippe repaired to the king, and acquainted him not onely with the state of their ships, in respect of marchandize, but with the late fight which they had passed with the Spanish Gallies, reporting every particular circumstance in word as it fell out in action: whereof the said king shewed himselfe marveilous glad, interteining them in the best sort, and promising abundant reliefe of all their wants, making generall proclamation in the city upon paine of death, that no man of what degree or state soever he were, should presume either to hinder them in their affaires, or to offer them any maner of injury in body or goods. By vertue whereof they dispatched al things in excellent good sort, with al favor & peaceablenesse: only such prisoners and captives of the Spaniards as were in the Citie, seeing the good usage which they received, and
[II. i. 289.] hearing also what service they had performed against the foresaide Gallies, grudged exceedingly against them, and sought as much as they could to practise some mischiefe against them: and one amongst the rest seeing an Englishman alone in a certaine lane of the Citie, came upon him suddenly, and with his knife thrust him in the side, yet made no such great wound, but that it was easily recovered. The English company hearing of it, acquainted the king with the fact, who immediatly sent both for the party that had received the wound, and the offender also, and caused an executioner in the presence of himselfe and the English, to chastise the slave even to death, which was performed to the ende that no man should presume to commit the like part, or to doe any thing in contempt of his royal commandement.

The English having received this good justice at the kings hands, and al other things that they wanted, or

could crave for the furnishing of their shippes, tooke their leave of him, and of the rest of their friendes, that were resident in Alger, and put out to Sea, looking to meete with the second army of the Spanish king, which waited for them about the mouth of the Straights of Gibraltar, which they were of necessitie to passe. But comming neere to the said Streight, it pleased God to raise at that instant a very darke and mistie fogge, so that one ship coulde not discerne another, if it were 40. paces off: by meanes whereof, together with the notable faire Easterne winds that then blewe most fit for their course, they passed with great speed through the Streight, and might have passed with that good gale, had there bene 500. Gallies to withstand them, and the aire never so cleare for every ship to be seene. But yet the Spanish Gallies had a sight of them when they were come within 3. English miles of the towne, and made after them in all possible haste, and although they saw that they were farre out of their reach, yet in a vaine fury and foolish pride, they shot off their Ordinance, and made a stirre in the Sea as if they had bene in the midst of them, which vanitie of theirs ministred to our men notable matter of pleasure and mirth, seeing men to fight with shadowes, and to take so great paines to so small purpose.

The second Spanish fleete lying in waite for the English.

But thus it pleased God to deride, and delude all the forces of that proud Spanish king, which he had provided of purpose to distresse the English, who notwithstanding passed through both his Armies, in the one, little hurt, and in the other nothing touched, to the glory of his immortall Name, the honour of our Prince and Countrey, and the just commendation of ech mans service performed in that voyage.

[The returne

The returne of Master William Harborne from Constantinople over land to London, 1588.



Departed from Constantinople with 30. persons of my suit and family the 3. of August. Passing through the Countries of Thracia, now called Romania the great, Valachia & Moldavia, where ariving the 5. of September I was according to the Grand Signior his commandement very courteously interteined by Peter his positive prince, a Greeke by profession, with whom was concluded that her Majesties subjects there trafiquing should pay but three upon the hundreth, which as well his owne Subjects as all other nations answere: whose letters to her Majestie be extant. Whence I proceeded into Poland, where the high Chanceler sent for mee the 27. of the same moneth. And after most honorable intertainment imparted with me in secret maner the late passed and present occurrents of that kingdome, & also he writ to her Majestie.

The letters of the Prince of Moldavia to the Queene.

Letters of the Chanceler of Poland to the Queene.

Thence I hasted unto Elbing, where the 12. of October I was most friendly welcomed by the Senate of that City, whom I finde and judge to be faithfully devoted to her Majesties service, whose letters likewise unto the same were presented me. No lesse at Dantzik the 27. of that moneth I was courteously received by one of the Buroughmasters accompanied with two others of the Senate, & a Civil doctor their Secretarie. After going through the land of Pomer I rested one day at Stetin, where, for that ye duke was absent, nothing ensued. At Rostoke I passed through the Citie without any stay, and at Wismar received like friendly greeting as in the other places: but at Lubeck, for that I came late and departed early in the morning, I was not visited. At Hamburg the 19. of November, and at Stoad the ninth of December in like maner I was saluted by a Boroughmaster and the Secretarie, and in all these places they presented mee

sundry sorts of their best wine and fresh fish, every of them with a long discourse, congratulating, in the names of their whole Senate, her Majesties victory over the Spaniard, and my safe returne, concluding with offer of their ready service to her future disposing. Yet the Dantziks after my departure thence caused the Marchants to pay custome for the goods they brought with them in my company, which none other towne neither Infidels nor Christians on ye way ever demanded. And notwithstanding the premisses, I was most certainly informed of sundry of our nation there resident that most of the [II. i. 290.] Hanse-towns upon the sea coasts, especially Dantzik, Lubeck, and Hamborough have laden and were shipping for Spaine, great provision of corne, cables, ropes, powder, saltpeter, hargubusses, armour, iron, leade, copper, and all other munition serving for the warre. Whereupon I gather their fained courtesie proceeded rather for feare then of any good affection unto her Majesties service, Elbing and Stoad onely excepted, which of duetie for their commoditie I esteemed well affected.

The privilege of Peter the Prince of Moldavia graunted to the English Marchants.

PEtrus Dei gratia princeps Valachiæ & Moldaviæ; significamus præsentibus, universis & singulis quorum interest ac intererit, quòd cum magnifico domino Guilielmo Hareborne oratore Serenissimæ ac potentissimæ dominæ, dominæ Elizabethæ Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, ac Hiberniæ Reginæ apud Serenissimum ac potentissimum Turcarum Imperatorem hanc constitutionem fecerimus: Nimirùm ut dehinc suæ Serenitatis subditis, omnibusque mercatoribus integrum sit hìc in provincia nostra commorandi, conversandi, mercandi, vendendi, contrahendíque, imo omnia exercendi, quæ mercaturæ ac vitæ humanæ societas ususque requirit, sine ulla alicujus contradictione,

aut inhibitione: salvo ac integro tamen jure Telonii nostri; hoc est, ut a singulis rebus centum ducatorum pretii, tres numerent. Quod ratum ac firmum constitutione nostra haberi volumus. In cujus rei firmius testimonium, sigillum nostrum appressum est. Actum in castris nostris die 27. mensis Augusti, anno Domini 1588.

The same in English.

PEter by the grace of God prince of Valachia and Moldavia; we signifie by these presents to all and singuler persons, whom it doth or shall concerne, that we have made this agreement with the worthy gentleman William Hareborne Ambassador of the right high and mighty prince, the Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, with the most puissant and mightie Emperour of the Turkes: To witte, that from hencefoorth it shalbe lawfull for her highnesse subjects and all her Marchants, to remaine, converse, buy, sel, bargaine and exercise all such things, as the trade of marchandise, and humane societie and use requireth, without any hinderance or let: the right of our Custome alwayes reserved; That is, that they pay three ducats upon all such things as amount to the price of one hundred ducats. Which by this our ordinance we command to be surely and firmely observed; For the more assured testimony whereof, our seale is hereunto annexed. Given in our Campe the 27. of the moneth of August in the yeere of our Lord 1588.

A briefe extract specifying the certaine dayly paiments, answered quarterly in time of peace, by the Grand Signior, out of his Treasurie, to the Officers of his Seraglio or Court, successively in degrees: collected in a yeerely totall summe, as followeth.

FOr his owne diet every day, one thousand and one aspers, according to a former custome received from his auncestors: notwithstanding that otherwise his diurnall expence is very much, and not certainly knowen, which summe maketh sterling money by the yere, two thousand, one hundred, 92. pounds, three shillings, eight pence.

The five and fourtie thousand Janizaries dispersed in sundry places of his dominions, at sixe aspers the day, amounteth by the yeere to five hundreth, fourescore and eleven thousand, and three hundreth pounds.

The Azamoglans, tribute children, farre surmount that number, for that they are collected from among the Christians, from whom betweene the yeeres of sixe and twelve, they are pulled away yeerely perforce: whereof I suppose those in service may be equall in number with the Janizaries abovesaid, at three aspers a day, one with another, which is two hundred fourescore and fifteene thousand, sixe hundred and fiftie pounds.

The five Bassas, whereof the Viceroy is supreme, at one thousand aspers the day, besides their yerely revenues, amounteth sterling by the yeere to ten thousand, nine hundred and fiftie pounds.

The five Beglerbegs, chiefe presidents of Greece, Hungary and Sclavonia, being in Europe, in Natolia, and Caramania of Asia, at one thousande aspers the day: as also to eighteene other governours of Provinces, at five hundred aspers the day, amounteth by the

yeere, to thirtie thousand sixe hundred, and threescore pounds.

[II. i. 291.] The Bassa, Admirall of the Sea, one thousand aspers the day, two thousand, one hundred, foure score and ten thousand pounds.

The Aga of the Janizaries, generall of the footemen, five hundred aspers the day, and maketh by the yeere in sterling money, one thousand, fourescore and fifteene pounds.

The Imbrahur Bassa, Master of his horse, one hundred and fiftie aspers the day, is sterling money, three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The chiefe Esquire under him, one hundred and fiftie aspers, is three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The Agas of the Spahi, Captaines of the horsemen, sixe, at one hundred and fiftie aspers to either of them, maketh sterling, one thousand, nine hundred, three score and eleven pounds.

The Capagi Bassas head porters foure, one hundred and fiftie aspers to ech, and maketh out in sterling money by the yeere, one thousand, three hundred, and foureteene pounds.

The Sisinghir Bassa, Controller of the housholde, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and maketh out in sterling money by the yeere, two hundred, threescore and two poundes, sixteene shillings.

The Chaus Bassa, Captaine of the Pensioners, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and amounteth to by the yeere in sterling money, two hundred, threescore and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Capigilar Caiasi, Captaine of his Barge, one hundreth and twentie aspers the day, and maketh out by the yeere in sterling money, two hundred, threescore and two poundes, sixteene shillings.

The Solach Bassi, Captaine of his guard, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Giebrigi Bassi, master of the armoury, one hun-

dred and twenty aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Topagi Bassi, Master of the artillerie, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Echim Bassi, Phisition to his person, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

To fourtie Phisitions under him, to ech fourtie aspers, is three thousand, eight hundred, three score and sixe pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Mustafaracas spearemen, attending on his person, in number five hundred, to either three score aspers, and maketh sterling, threescore and five thousand, and seven hundred pounds.

The Cisingeri gentlemen, attending upon his diet, fourtie, at fourtie aspers ech of them, and amounteth to sterling by the yeere, three thousand, five hundred and foure pounds.

The Chausi Pensioners, foure hundred and fourtie, at thirtie aspers, twenty eight thousand, nine hundred, and eight pounds.

The Capagi porters of the Court and City, foure hundred, at eight aspers, and maketh sterling money by the yeere, seven thousand, and eight pounds.

The Solachi, archers of his guard, three hundreth and twenty, at nine aspers, and commeth unto in English money, the summe of sixe thousand, three hundred and sixe pounds.

The Spahi, men of Armes of the Court and the City, ten thousand, at twenty five aspers, and maketh of English money, five hundred, forty and seven thousand, and five hundred pounds.

The Janizaires sixteene thousand, at six aspers, is two hundred and ten thousand, and two hundred and forty pounds.

The Giebegi furbushers of armor, one thousand, five hundred, at sixe aspers, and amounteth to sterling

money, nineteene thousand, seven hundred, and fourescore pounds.

The Seiesir, servitors in his Equier or stable, five hundred, at two aspers, and maketh sterling money, two thousand, one hundred, fourescore and ten pounds.

The Saesi, Sadlers and bit makers, five hundred, at seven aspers, seven thousand, six hundred, threescore and five pounds.

The Catergi, Carriers upon Mules, two hundred, at five aspers, two thousand, one hundred, fourescore and ten pounds.

The Cinegi, Carriers upon Camels, one thousand, five hundred, at eight aspers, and amounteth in sterling money, to twenty sixe thousand, two hundred, and fourescore pounds.

The Reiz, or Captaines of the Gallies, three hundred, at ten aspers, and amounteth in English money by the yeere, the summe of sixe thousand, five hundred, threescore and ten pounds.

The Alechingi, Masters of the said Gallies, three hundred, at seven aspers, foure thousand, five hundred, fourescore and nineteene pounds.

[II. i. 292.] The Getti, Boateswaines thereof, three hundred, at sixe aspers, is three thousande, nine hundred, fourty and two pounds.

The Oda Bassi, Pursers, three hundred, at five aspers, maketh three thousand, two hundred, and fourescore pounds.

The Azappi souldiers two thousand sixe hundred at foure Aspers, whereof the six hundred do continually keepe the gallies, two and twentie thousand, seven hundred fourscore and six pounds.

The Mariers Bassi masters over the shipwrights and kalkers of the navie, nine, at 20. Aspers the piece, amounteth to three thousand fourescore and foure pound, foure shillings.

The Master Dassi shipwrights & kalkers, one thousand

at fourteene aspers, which amounteth by the yeere, to thirtie thousand, sixe hundred threescore pound.

Summa totalis of dayly paiments amounteth by the yeere sterling, one million, nine hundred threescore eight thousand, seven hundred thirty five pounds, nineteene shillings eight pence, answered quarterly without default, with the summe of foure hundred fourescore twelve thousand, one hundred fourescore and foure pounds foure shillings eleven pence, and is for every day five thousand three hundred fourescore and thirteene pounds, fifteene shillings ten pence.

Annuities of lands never improved, five times more in value then their summes mentioned, given by the saide Grand Signior, as followeth.

TO the Viceroy for his Timar or annuitie 60. thousand golde ducats.

To the second Bassa for his annuitie 50. thousand ducats.

To the third Bassa for his annuitie 40. thousand ducats.

To the fourth Bassa for his annuitie 30. thousand ducats.

To the fifth Bassa for his annuitie 20. thousand ducats.

To the Captaine of the Janizaries 20. thousand ducats.

To the Jeu Merhorbassi master of his horse 15. thousand ducats.

To the Captaine of the pensioners 10. thousand ducats.

To the Captaine of his guard 5. thousand ducats.

Summa totalis 90. thousand li. sterling.

Beside these above specified, be sundry other annuities given to divers others of his aforesaid officers, as also to certaine called Sahims, diminishing from three thousand to two hundreth ducats, esteemed treble to surmount the annuitie abovesaid.

The Turkes chiefe officers.

THe Viceroy is high Treasurer, notwithstanding that under him be three subtreasurers called Teftadars, which bee accomptable to him of the receipts out of

Europe, Asia and Africa, save their yeerely annuitie of lands.

The Lord Chancellor is called Nissangi Bassa, who sealeth with a certaine proper character such licences, safe conducts, passeports, especiall graunts, &c. as proceed from the Grand Signior: notwithstanding all letters to forreine princes so firmed be after inclosed in a bagge, and sealed by the Grand Signior, with a signet which he ordinarily weareth about his necke, credited of them to have bene of ancient appertayning to king Salomon the wise.

The Admirall giveth his voyce in the election of all Begs, Captaines of Islandes, to whom hee giveth their charge, as also appointeth the Subbassas, Bayliffes or Constables over Cities and Townes upon the Sea coastes about Constantinople, and in the Archipelago, whereof hee reapeth great profit.

The Subbassi of Pera payeth him yeerely fifteene thousande ducats, and so likewise either of the others according as they are placed.

The Ressistop serveth in office to the Viceroy and Chancellor, as Secretary, and so likewise doeth the Cogie Master of the Rolls, before which two, passe all writings presented to, or granted by the said Viceroy and Chancellor, offices of especiall credite and like profite, moreover rewarded with annuities of lands.

There are also two chiefe Judges named Cadi Lesker, the one over Europe, and the other over Asia and Africa, which in Court doe sit on the Bench at the left hand of the Bassas. These sell all offices to the under Judges of the land called Cadies, whereof is one in every Citie [II. i. 293.] or towne, before whom all matters in controversie are by judgement decided, as also penalties and corrections for crimes ordained to be executed upon the offenders by the Subbassi.

The number of Souldiers continually attending upon the Beglerbegs the governours of Provinces and Sanjacks, and their petie Captaines mainteined of these Provinces.

The Beglerbegs of

GRæcia, fourtie thousand
Buda, fifteene thousand
Sclavonia, fifteene thousand
Natolia, fifteene thousand
Caramania, fifteene thousand
Armenia, eighteene thousand
Persia, twentie thousand
Usdrum, fifteene thousand
Chirusta, fifteene thousand
Caraemiti, thirtie thousand
Giersul, two and thirtie thousand
} persons.

The Beglerbegs of

BAgdat, five and twentie thousand
Balsara, two and twenty thousand
Lassaija, seventeene thousand
Alepo, five and twentie thousand
Damasco, seventeene thousand
Cayro, twelve thousand
Abes, twelve thousand
Mecca, eight thousand
Cyprus, eighteene thousand
Tunis in Barbary, eight thousand
Tripolis in Syria, eight thousand
Alger, fourtie thousand
} persons.

Whose Sangjacks and petie Captaines be three hundred sixtie eight, every of which retaining continually in pay from five hundreth to two hundreth Souldiers, may be one with another at the least, three hundreth thousand persons.

[Chiefe officers

Chiefe officers in his Seraglio about his person.

Be these
- CApiaga, High porter.
- Alnader Bassi, Treasurer.
- Oda Bassi, Chamberlaine.
- Killergie Bassi, Steward.
- Sarajaga, Comptroller.
- Peskerolen, Groome of the chamber.
- Edostoglan, Gentleman of the Ewer.
- Sehetaraga, Armour bearer.
- Choataraga, he that carieth his riding cloake.
- Ebietaraga, Groome of the stoole.

There be many other maner Officers, which I esteeme superfluous to write.

The Turkes yeerely revenue.

THe Grand Signiors annual revenue is said to be fourteene Millions and an halfe of golden ducats, which is sterling five millions, eight score thousand pounds.

The tribute payd by the Christians his Subjects is one gold ducat yeerely for the redemption of every head, which may amount unto not so litle as one Million of golden ducats, which is sterling three hundred threescore thousand pounds.

Moreover, in time of warre he exacteth manifolde summes for maintenance of his Armie and Navie of the said Christians.

The Emperour payeth him yeerely tribute for Hungary, threescore thousand dollers, which is sterling thirteene thousand pound, besides presents to the Viceroy and Bassas, which are said to surmount to twentie thousand dollers.

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Ambassadors Allowances.

THe Ambassadour of the Emperor is allowed one thousand Aspers the day.

The Ambassadour of the French king heretofore enjoyed the like: but of late yeeres by meanes of

displeasure conceived by Mahumet then Viceroy, it was reduced to sixe crownes the day, beside the provision of his Esquier of his stable.

The Ambassadours of Poland, and for the state of Venice are not Ligiers as these two abovesaid. The said Polack is allowed 12. French crownes the day during his abode, which may be for a moneth. Very seldome do the state of Venice send any Ambassador otherwise, then enforced of urgent necessity: but in stead thereof keepe their Agent, president over other Marchants, of them termed a bailife, who hath none allowance of the Grand Signior, although his port & state is in maner as magnifical as the other aforesaid ambassadors. The Spanish Ambassador was equall with others in Janizaries: but for so much as he would not according to custome folow the list of other ambassadors in making presents to ye Grand Signior, he had none alowance. His abode there was 3. yeres, at the end wherof, having concluded a truce for 6. yeres, taking place from his first comming in November last past 1580. he was not admitted to the presence of the Grand Signior.

The letters of Sinan Bassa chiefe counsellour to Sultan Murad Can the Grand Signior, to the sacred Majestie of Elizabeth Queene of England, shewing that upon her request, and for her sake especially, hee graunted peace unto the King and kingdome of Poland.

GLoriosissima & splendore fulgidissima fœminarum, selectíssima Princeps magnanimorum Jesum sectantium, regni inclyti Angliæ Regina Serenissima Elizabetha, moderatrix rerum & negotiorum omnium plebis & familiæ Nazarenorum sapientissima; Origo splendoris & gloriæ dulcissima; nubes pluviarum gratissima, heres & domina beatitudinis & gloriæ regni inclyti Angliæ; ad quam

omnes supplices confugiunt, incrementum omnium rerum & actionum Serenitatis vestræ beatissimum, exitusque fœlicissimos à Creatore omnipotente optantes, mutuáque & perpetua familiaritate nostra digna vota & laudes sempiternas offerentes: Significamus Ser. vestræ amicissimè; Quia sunt anni aliquot, à quibus annis potentissima Cæsarea celsitudo bella ineffabilia cum Casul-bas, Principe nempe Persarum gessit; ratione quorum bellorum in partes alias bellum movere noluit, ob eamque causam in partibus Poloniæ latrones quidam Cosaci nuncupati, & alii facinorosi in partibus illis existentes, subditos Cæsaris potentissimi turbare & infestare non desierunt. Nunc autem partibus Persicis compositis & absolutis, in partibus Poloniæ & aliis partibus exurgentes facinorosos punire constituens, Beglerbego Græciæ exercitu aliquo adjuncto, & Principi Tartarorum mandato Cæsaris misso, anno proximè præterito pars aliqua Regni Poloniæ infestata, turbata & devastata fuit, & Cosaci aliique facinorosi juxta merita sua puniti fuerunt. Quo rex Poloniæ viso duos legatos ad Cæsaream celsitudinem mittens, quòd facinorosos exquirere, & pœna perfecta punire, & ab annis multis ad portam Cæsareæ celsitudinis missum munus augere vellet, significavit. Cæsarea autem celsitudo (cui Creator omnipotens tantam suppeditavit potentiam, & quæ omnes supplices exaudire dignata est) supplicatione Regis Poloniæ non accepta, iterùm in regem Poloniæ exercitum suum mittere, & Creatoris omnipotentis auxilio regnum ejus subvertere constituerat. Verum Legato Serenitatis vestræ in porta beata & fulgida Cæsareæ celsitudinis residente sese interponente, Et quòd Serenitati vestræ ex partibus Poloniæ, fruges, pulvis, arbores navium, tormenta, & alia necessaria suppeditarentur significante, & pacem pro regno & rege Poloniæ petente, nevè regnum Poloniæ ex parte Cæsareæ celsitudinis turbaretur vel infestaretur intercedente, Serenitatisque vestræ hanc singularem esse voluntatem exponente, Legati serenitatis vestræ significatio & intercessio cùm Cæsareæ celsitudini significata fuisset, In favorem sereni-

tatis vestræ, cui omnis honos & gratia debetur, juxta modum prædictum, ut Cosaci facinorosi exquirantur & pœna perfecta puniantur, aut ratione muneris aliquantuli eorum delicta condonentur, hac inquam conditione literæ Cæsareæ celsitudinis ad Regem Poloniæ sunt datæ. Si autem ex parte Serenitatis vestræ fœdus & pax sollicitata non fuisset, nulla ratione Cæsarea celsitudo fœdus cum regno Poloniæ injisset. In favorem autem Serenitatis vestræ regno & Regi Poloniæ singularem gratiam Cæsarea celsitudo exhibuit. Quod tàm Serenitas vestra, quàm etiam Rex & regnum Poloniæ sibi certò persuadere debent. Serenitatem vestram benè fœlicissiméque valere cupimus. Datum Constantinopoli in fine mensis Sabaum nuncupati, Anno prophetæ nostri sacrati Mahumedi nongentesimo, nonagesimo, octavo. JESU vero Anno millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo, die duodecimo mensis Junii.

The same in English.

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MOst glorious, and the most resplendent of women, most select Princesse, most gratious Elizabeth Queene of the valiant followers of Jesus in the famous kingdom of England, most wise governesse of all the affaires and businesses of the people and family of the Nazarens, most sweet fountaine of brightnesse and glory, most acceptable cloud of raine, inheritresse & Ladie of the blessednesse and glory of the renowmed kingdome of England, to whom in humble wise all men offer their petitions: wishing of the almightie Creator most happie increase and prosperous successe unto all your Majesties affaires and actions, and offering up mutuall & perpetuall vowes worthy of our familiarity, with eternall prayses: In most friendly manner we signifie unto your princely Highnesse, that certaine yeeres past the most mightie Cesarlike majestie of the Grand Signor waged unspeakeable warres with Casul-bas the Prince of the Persians, in regarde of which warres he would not goe in battell against any other places; and for that cause

certaine theeves in the partes of Polonia called Cosacks, and other notorious persons living in the same partes ceased not to trouble and molest the subjects of our most mightie Emperour. But now having finished and brought to some good issue his affaires in Persia, determining to punish the saide malefactors of Poland, and for that purpose committing an army unto the Beglerbeg of Grecia, and the yeere last past, sending his imperiall commaundement unto the Prince of the Tartars, he hath forraged, molested, and layed waste some part of the kingdome of Poland, and the Cosacks and other notorious offenders have received condigne punishment. Which the king of Poland perceiving sent two Embassadours to his imperiall Highnesse signifying, that he would hunt out the said malefactors, and inflict most severe punishments upon them, and also that he would better his gift, which he hath for many yeeres heretofore ordinarily sent unto the porch of his imperiall Highnesse. Howbeit his imperiall majestie (upon whom the almightie creator hath bestowed so great power, and who vouchsafeth to give eare unto all humble suppliants) rejecting the supplication of the King of Poland, determined againe to send his armie against the said king, and by the helpe of the Almightie creator, utterly to subvert and overthrowe his kingdome. By your Majesties Embassadour resident in the blessed and glorious porch of his imperiall Highnesse interposing himselfe as a mediatour, signifying that from the partes of Poland you were furnished with corne, gun-powder, mastes of ships, guns, and other necessaries, and craving peace on the behalfe of the kingdome and king of Poland, and making intercession, that the said king might not be molested nor troubled by the meanes of the Grand Signor, & declaring that this was your Majesties most earnest desire; so soone as the report and intercession of your Majesties Embassadour was signified unto the Grand Signor, for your sake, unto whom all honour and favourable regard is due, upon the condition aforesaid, namely, that the wicked Cosacks

might be sought out and grievously punished, or that their offences might be remitted for the value of some small gift, upon this condition (I say) the letters of his imperiall Highnesse were sent unto the king of Poland. Howbeit had not this conclusion of league and amitie beene sollicited on the behalfe of your Majestie, his imperiall Highnesse would never have vouchsafed the same unto the kingdome of Poland. But for your Majesties sake his imperiall Highnesse hath exhibited this so singular a favour unto the said king and kingdome of Poland. And hereof your Majestie and the king of Poland ought certainely to be perswaded. We wish your Majestie most happily and well to fare. Given at Constantinople in the ende of the moneth called Sabaum, in the yeare of our sacred prophet Mahomet 998, and in the yeere of Jesus 1590, the 12 of June.

The second letters Patents graunted by the Queenes Majestie to the Right worshipfull companie of the English Marchants for the Levant, the seventh of Januarie 1592.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Irelande, defender of the faith &c. To all our Officers, ministers and subjects, and to all other people aswell within this our Realme of England, as else where under our obeysance and jurisdiction or otherwise unto whom these our letters shalbe seene, shewed, or read, greeting.

Where our welbeloved subjects Edward Osborne knight Alderman of our citie of London, William Hareborne Esquire, and Richard Staper of our saide citie Marchant, have by great adventure and industrie with their great cost and charges by the space of sundry late [II. i. 296.] yeeres travelled, and caused travell to be taken aswell by secrete and good meanes, as by daungerous wayes

and passages both by lande and sea to finde out and set open a trade of marchandize and traffike into the landes, Ilandes, Dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signor, not before that time in the memorie of any man now living knowen to be commonly used and frequented by way of marchandize by any the marchantes or other subjectes of us or our progenitors: And also have by their like good meanes and industrie and great charges procured of the sayde Grand Signor in our name, amitie, safetie and freedome for trade and traffike of marchandize to be used and continued by our subjects within his sayd dominions, whereby we perceive and finde that both many good actions have beene done and performed, and hereafter are likely continually to be done and performed for the peace of Christendome: Namely by the reliefe and discharge of many Christians which have beene, and which hereafter may happen to be in thraldome and bondage under the sayde Grand Signor and his vassals or subjects. And also good and profitable vent and utterance of the commodities of our Realme, and sundrie other great benefites to the advancement of our honour and dignitie Royall, the maintenance of our Navie, the encrease of our customes, and the revenues of our Crowne, and generally the great wealth of our whole Realme.

And whereas we are enformed of the sayd Edward Osborne knight, William Hareborne, and Richard Staper, that George Barne, Richard Martine, John Harte knights, and other marchants of our sayd Citie of London have by the space of eight or nine yeeres past joyned themselves in companie, trade and traffike with them the sayd Edward Osborne knight, William Hareborne and Richard Staper, into the sayde dominions of the sayd great Turke, to the furtherance thereof and the good of the Realme.

And whereas further it is made knowen unto us, that within fewe yeeres now past our loving and good subjects Thomas Cordall, Edward Holmeden, William Garraway

and Paul Banning, and sundry other marchants of our said Citie of London, have likewise at their great costes and charges, builded and furnished diverse good and serviceable shippes and therewith to their like costs and charges have traded and frequented, and from time to time doe trade and frequent and traffike by sea with the commodities of our Realme to Venice, Zante, Candie, and Zephalonia and other the dominions of the Segniorie and State of Venice, and thereby have made and mainteyned, and doe make and continually maintaine divers good shippes with mariners skilfull and fitte and necessarie for our service: and doe vent out of our Realme into those partes diverse commodities of our Realme, and returne hither into our sayde Realme many good and necessarie commodities for the common wealth thereof: All which traffike, as well inward as outward untill it hath beene otherwise brought to passe by the sayde endevours, costs, and charges of our sayde subjects, was in effect by our subjectes wholy discontinued.

Knowe yee, that hereupon we greatly tendring the wealth of our people and the encouragement of them and other our loving subjects in their good enterprises for the advancement of lawfull traffike to the benefite of our common wealth, have of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion given and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heyres, and successours, doe give and graunt unto our sayd trustie and welbeloved subjectes Edwarde Osborne Knight, George Barne Knight, George Bonde knight, Richard Martine knight, John Harte knight, John Hawkins knight, William Massam, John Spencer, Richard Saltonstall, Nicholas Mosley Aldermen of our sayde Citie of London, William Hareborne, Edwarde Barton, William Borrough Esquires, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Parvis, Thomas Laurence, Edwarde Holmeden, William Garraway, Robert Dowe, Paul Banning, Roger Clarke, Henrie Anderson, Robert Offley, Philip Grimes, Andrewe Banning, James Staper, Robert Sadler, Leonarde Power, George Salter, Nicholas

Leate, John Eldred, William Shales, Richard May, William Wilkes, Andrewe Fones, Arthur Jackson, Edmund Ansell, Ralph Ashley, Thomas Farrington, Roberte Sandie, Thomas Garraway, Edwarde Lethlande, Thomas Dalkins, Thomas Norden, Robert Bate, Edward Sadler, Richard Darsall, Richard Martine Junior, Ralph Fitch, Nicholas Pearde, Thomas Simons, and Francis Dorrington, that they and every of them by the name of Governour and company of Marchants of the Levant shall from hence foorth for the terme of twelve yeeres next ensuing the date hereof bee one bodie, fellowshippe and companie of themselves both in deede and in name: And them by the name of Governour and companie of marchantes of the Levant wee doe ordayne, incorporate, name, and declare by these presentes, and that the same fellowshippe and companie from hence foorth shall and may have one Governour. And in consideration that the sayde Edwarde Osborne Knight hath beene of the chiefe setters foorth and actors in the opening and putting in practise of the sayde trade to the dominions of the sayde Grand Signor: Wee doe therefore specially make, ordaine, and constitute the sayde Edwarde Osborne Knight, to bee nowe Governour during the time of one whole yeere nowe next following, if hee so long shall live: and after the expiration of the sayde yeere, or decease of the sayde Edward Osborne the choyse of the next Governour, and so of every Governour from time to time during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres to be at the election of the sayde fellowshippe or companie of marchantes of the Levant or the more part of them yeerely to be chosen, and that they the sayde Sir Edwarde Osborne, and all the residue of the sayde fellowshippe or companie of Marchantes of the Levant and everie of them, and all the sonnes of them and of every of them, and all such their apprentises and servants of them and of every of them, which have beene or hereafter shall be imployed in the sayde trade by the space of foure yeeres or upwardes by themselves, their servantes, factors or

The marchants above named be made a fellowship and companie for 12 yeeres by the name of the Governor and companie of the marchants of the Levant.

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Sir Edward Osborne appointed the first Governour.

deputies, shall and may by the space of twelve yeeres from the day of the date of these our letters Patents freely traffike, and use the trade of Marchandize as well by sea as by lande into and from the dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, and into and from Venice, Zante, Candie and Zephalonia, and other the dominions of the Signiorie and State of Venice, and also by lande through the Countries of the sayde Grand Signor into and from the East India, lately discovered by John Newberie, Ralph Fitch, William Leech, and James Storie, sent with our letters to that purpose at the proper costs and charge of the sayde Marchants or some of them: and into and from everie of them in such order, manner, forme, libertie and condition to all intentes and purposes as shall be betweene them of the sayde fellowshippe or companie of Marchantes of the Levant or the more part of them for the time being limited and agreed, and not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance; any lawe, statute, usage, or diversitie of Religion or faith, or any other cause or matter whatsoever to the contrarie notwithstanding.

A priviledge for the East Indies.

And that the sayde Governour and companie of Marchantes of the Levant, or the greater part of them for the better governement of the sayde fellowshippe and companie, shall and may within fortie dayes next and immediatly following after the date heereof, and so from thence foorth yeerely during the continuance of this our graunt, assemble themselves in some convenient place, and that they or the greater parte of them being so assembled, shall and may elect, ordaine, nominate, and appoint twelve discreete and honest persons of the sayde companie to be assistants to the sayde Governour, and to continue in the sayde office of assistants, untill they shall die or bee remooved by the sayde Governour and companie or the greater part of them. And if it happen the sayde assistantes or any of them to die, or be remooved from their sayde office at anie time during the continuance of this our graunt: that then and so often it shall and

may bee lawfull to and for the sayde Governour and companie of marchantes of the Levant, or the greater part of them to elect and chuse one or more other persons of the sayd companie into the place or places of every such person or persons so dying or happening to be remooved, as is aforesayde. And wee will and ordaine that the same person or persons so as is aforesayde to be elected shall be of the sayd number of assistants of the sayde companie. And this to be done so often as the case shall so require. And that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the sayde Edwarde Osborne Knight, George Barne Knight, George Bonde knight, Richard Martine knight, John Hart knight, John Hawkins knight, William Massam, John Spencer, Richard Saltonstall, Nicholas Mosley, William Hareborne, Edwarde Barton, William Borrough, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Parvis, Thomas Laurence, Edwarde Holmeden, William Garraway, Robert Dowe, Paul Banning, Roger Clarke, Henrie Anderson, Robert Offley, Philip Grimes, Andrewe Banning, James Staper, Robert Sadler, Leonarde Power, George Salter, Nicholas Leate, John Eldred, William Shales, Richard May, William Wilkes, Andrewe Fones, Arthur Jackson, Edmund Ansell, Ralph Ashley, Thomas Farrington, Roberte Sandie, Thomas Garraway, Edwarde Lethlande, Thomas Dalkins, Thomas Norden, Robert Bate, Edward Sadler, Richard Darsall, Richard Martine Junior, Ralph Fitch, Nicholas Pearde, Thomas Simons, and Francis Dorrington aforesayde, or any of them to assemble themselves for or about any the matters, causes or affaires or businesses of the sayde trade in any place or places for the same convenient from time to time during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres within our dominions or else where. And that also it shall and may bee lawfull for them or the more part of them to make, ordaine and constitute reasonable lawes and orders for the good governement of the sayde companie, and for the better advancement and continuance of the sayde [II. i. 298.] trade and traffike: the same lawes and ordinances not

being contrarie or repugnant to the lawes, statutes or customes of our Realme: And the same lawes and ordinances so made to put in ure, and execute accordingly, and at their pleasures to revoke and alter the same lawes and ordinances or any of them as occasion shall require.

And we doe also for us, our heyres and successors of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion graunt to and with the sayd Governour and companie of marchantes of the Levant, that when and as often at any time during the sayde terme and space of twelve yeeres as any custome, pondage, subsidie or other duetie shall be due and payable unto us, our heires, or successors for any goods or marchandize whatsoever, to be carried or transported out of this our port of London into any the dominions aforesayde, or out of or from any the sayde dominions unto our sayde port of London, that our Customers, and all other our Officers for receites of custome, pondage, subsidie or other duetie unto whom it shall appertaine, shall upon the request of the sayde Governour for the time being, give unto the sayde companie three monethes time for the payment of the one halfe, and other three monethes for the payment of the other halfe of their sayde custome, pondage, or other subsidie or duetie for the same, receiving good and sufficient bonde and securitie to our use for the payment of the same accordingly. And upon receipt of the sayde bonde to give them out their cockets or other warrants to lade out and receive in the same their goods by vertue hereof without any disturbance. And that also as often as at any time during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres any goods or marchandize of any of the sayde companie laden from this our port of London in any the dominions beforesayde shall happen to miscarie before their safe discharge in the partes for and to the which they be sent: That then and so often so much custome, pondage, and other subsidie as they answered us for the same, shall after due proofe made before the Treasurour

of England for the time being of the sayde losse, and the just quantitie thereof, be by the vertue hereof allowed unto them, by warrant of the sayde Treasurour to the sayde Customers in the next marchandize that they shall or may shippe for those partes, according to the true rates of the customes, pondage, or subsidies heretofore payde for the goods so lost or any part or parcell thereof.

And for that the sayde companie are like continually to bring into this our Realme a much greater quantitie of forren commodities from the forren Countreyes, places, or territories aforesaide, then here can be spent for the necessarie use of the same, which of necessitie must be transported into other countreyes, and there vented, we for us, our heires and successors of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion doe graunt to and with the sayd Governour and companie that at all times from time to time during the space of thirteene moneths next after the discharge of any the sayde goods so brought in, and the subsidies, pondage, customes and other duties for the same being before hande payde or compounded for as aforesayd, it shall be lawfull for them or any of them or any other person or persons whatsoever being naturall subjects of the Realme which may or shall buy the same of them or any of them to transport the same in English bottomes freely out of this Realme without payment of any further custome, pondage, or other subsidie to us, our heires or successors for the same, whereof the sayde subsidies, pondage, or customes or other duties shall be so formerly payde and compounded for, as aforesayd, and so proved. And the sayd customer by vertue hereof shall upon due and sufficient proofe thereof made in the custome house give them sufficient cocket or certificate for the safe passing out thereof accordingly. And to the ende no deceipt be used herein to us our heires, and successors, certificate shall be brought from our collector of custome inwardes to our customer out-

wardes that the sayd marchandizes have within the time limited answered their due custome, subsidie, pondage and other duties for the same inwards.

And furthermore we of our ample and aboundant grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge have graunted, and by these presents for us our heyres and successours doe graunt unto the said Governours and companie of marchantes of the Levant, that they and such onely as be and shall be of that companie, shall for the sayd terme of twelve yeeres have, use, and enjoy the whole and onely trade and traffike, and the whole entire and onely libertie, use, and priviledge of trading and traffiking, and using feate of marchandise by and through the Levant seas otherwise called the Mediterran seas into and from the sayd dominions of the Grand Signor, and dominions of the state of Venice; and by and through the sayd Grand Signors dominions to and from such other places in the East Indies discovered as aforesayd. And that they the sayd Governour and companie of marchants of the Levant and every particular and severall person of that companie their and every one of their servants, factors, and deputies shall have full and free authoritie, libertie, facultie, licence, and power to trade and trafficke by and through the sayd Levant seas into and from all and every the sayd dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, and the dominions [II. i. 299.] of the state of Venice, and the sayde Indies, and into and from all places where by occasion of the sayd trade they shall happen to arrive or come, whither they be Christians, Turkes, Gentiles, or others: And by and through the sayd Levant seas into and from all other seas, rivers, portes, regions, territories, dominions, coastes and places with their ships, barkes, pinases and other vessels, and with such mariners and men as they will leade or have with them, or sende for the sayde trade as they shall thinke good at their owne proper costes and expenses.

And for that the shippes sayling into the sayde

Countreyes must take their due and proper times to proceede in these voyages, which otherwise as wee well perceive can not be performed in the rest of the yeere following: Therefore we of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion for us our heyres and successors doe graunt to and with the sayd Governour and companie of Marchantes of the Levant, that foure good shippes well furnished with ordinance and other munition for their defence, and two hundred marriners English men to guide and sayle in the same foure shippes at all times during the sayde twelve yeeres shall quietly bee permitted and suffered to depart and goe in the sayde voyages, according to the purport of these presents, without any stay or contradiction by us, our heyres and successors, or by the Lorde high Admirall or any other officer or subject of us, our heires or successours in any wise: Any restraint, lawe, statute, usage or matter whatsoever to the contrarie notwithstanding.

Provided neverthelesse, that if wee shall at any time within the sayde twelve yeeres have just cause to arme our Navie in warrelike manner in defence of our Realme, or for offence of our enemies: and that it shall be founde needefull and convenient for us to joyne to our Navie the shippes of our subjects to be also armed for warres to such number as cannot bee supplied if the sayd foure shippes should be permitted to depart as above is mentioned; then upon knowledge given by us or our Admirall to the sayde Governour or companie about the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, or three monethes before the saide companie shall beginne to make readie the same foure shippes that we may not spare the sayd foure ships and the marriners requisite for them to be out of our Realme during the time that our Navie shall be upon the seas, that then the sayde companie shall forbeare to send such foure shippes for their trade of marchandise untill that we shall retake our sayd Navie from the sayd service.

And further our will and pleasure is, and wee doe by these presentes graunt that it shall be lawfull to and for the sayd Governour and companie of Marchantes of the Levant to have and use in and about the affaires of the sayde companie a common seale for matters concerning the sayde companie and trade. And that also it shall be lawfull for the Marchants, Mariners, and Sea-men, which shall be used and imployed in the sayde trade and voyage to set and place in the toppes of their ships or other vessels the Armes of England with the redde-crosse in white over the same as heretofore they have used.

And we of our further Royall favour and of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion have graunted and by these presents for us our heyres and successors doe graunt to the sayd Governour and companie of Marchants of the Levant, that the sayde landes, territories, and dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, or the dominions of the Signiorie of Venice, or any of them within the sayde Levant or Mediterran seas shall not be visited, frequented, or haunted by the sayde Levant sea by way of marchandize by any other our subjects during the saide terme of twelve yeeres contrarie to the true meaning of these presentes. And by vertue of our prerogative Royall, which wee will not in that behalfe have argued or brought in question, wee straightly charge, commaunde and prohibite for us, our heyres and successours all our subjects of what degree or qualitie soever they bee, that none of them directly or indirectly doe visite, haunt, frequent, trade, traffike or adventure by way of marchandise into or from any of the sayd dominions of the sayd Grand Signor, or the dominions of the saide Segniorie of Venice, by or through the sayde Levant sea other then the sayd Governour and companie of marchants of the Levant, and such particular persons as be or shall be of that companie, their factors, agents, servants and assignes. And further for that wee plainely understande

that the States and Governours of the citie and Segniorie of Venice have of late time set and raysed a newe impost and charge over and besides their auncient impost, custome, and charge of and upon all manner of marchandize of our Realme brought into their dominions, and also of and upon all marchandise caried or laden from their sayd Countrey or dominions by our subjects or in the ships or bottoms of any of our subjectes to the great and intollerable charge and hinderance of our sayd subjects trading thither, wee therefore minding the redresse thereof, doe also by these presents for us, our heires [II. i. 300.] and successors further straightly prohibite and forbid not onely the subjects of the sayde State and Segniorie of Venice, but also of all other Nations or Countries whatsoever other then the sayd Governour and companie of marchants of the Levant, and such onely as be or shall be of that companie, their factors, agents, servantes, and assignes: That they or any of them during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres, shall bring or cause to be brought into this our Realme of Englande, or any part thereof anie manner of small fruites called corrants, being the raysins of Corinth, or wine of Candie, unlesse it be by and with the licence, consent, and agreement of the sayde Governour and companie in writing under their sayd common seale first had and obteyned upon paine unto every such person and persons that shall trade and traffike into any the sayde dominions of the State and Segniorie of Venice by sea, or that shall bring or cause to be brought into our saide Realme any of the said corrants being the raysins of Corinth, or wines of Candia, other then the sayd companie in paine of our indignation, and of forfaiture and losse aswell of the shippe and ships with the furniture thereof, as also of the goods, marchandize, and thinges whatsoever they be of those which shall attempt or presume to commit or doe any matter or thing contrarie to the prohibition aforesayd. The one halfe of all the saide forfeitures to be to us, our heires and successours, and the other halfe of all and every the sayde

forfeitures we doe by these presents, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion clearely and wholie for us, our heires and successors, give and graunt unto the saide Governour and companie of marchantes of the Levant.

And further all and every the sayde offendours for their sayde contempt to suffer imprisonment during our pleasures, and such other punishment as to us for so high a contempt shall seeme meete and convenient, and not to be in any wise delivered untill they and every of them shall be come bounde unto the sayd Governour for the time being in the summe of one thousand poundes or lesse at no time, then after to sayle or traffike by sea into any the dominions aforesaide, or to bring or cause to be brought from any the places aforesayde any corrants, raysins of Corinth, or wines of Candia contrarie to our expresse commaundement in that behalfe herein set downe and published.

Provided alwayes, and our expresse will is notwithstanding the premisses that if our sayde subjectes shall at any time hereafter be recompensed of and for all such newe impostes and charges as they and every of them shall pay, and likewise be freely discharged of and from the payment of all manner of newe imposte or taxe for any of their marchandise which they hereafter shall bring into or from any the dominions of the sayde State or Segniorie of Venice, and from all bondes and other assurances by them or any of them to be made for or in that behalfe, that then immediatly from and after such recompence and discharge made as aforesayde our sayde prohibition and restraint in these presentes mentioned, shall not be of any strength or force against the sayde Citie or State of Venice, or any the subjects thereof, but for and during such time onely and in such case when hereafter the sayde State of Venice shall againe beginne to taxe or levie any manner of newe imposte within the sayde dominions upon any the goods or marchandizes of our sayde subjectes heereafter to be brought into any the

dominions of the said State or Segniorie of Venice. Any thing in these our letters Patents contayned to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

And further wee straightly charge and commaunde, and by these presentes prohibite all and singular Customers and Collectors of our Customes, pondage, and subsidies, and all other Officers within our Porte and Citie of London and else where, to whom it shall appertaine and every of them, That they or any of them by themselves, their clarkes, or substitutes shall not receive or take, or suffer to be received or taken for us or in our name, or to our use, or in the name, or unto the use of our heires or successors of any person or persons, any summe or summes of money, or other consideration during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres for any custome, pondage, taxe or subsidie of any corrants, raysins of Corinth, or wines of Candie aforesayd save onely of and in the name of the sayde Governour and companie of marchantes of the Levant, or of some of that companie without the consent of the sayde Governour and companie in writing under their sayd common seale, first had and obteyned, and unto them shewed for the testifying their sayd consent. And for the better and more sure observation thereof wee will and graunt for us, our heires or successors by these presentes, that our Treasurour and Barons of the Exchequer for the time being by force of these presentes, and the inrollment thereof in the sayde Court of our Exchequour, at all and every time and times during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres, at and upon the request of the sayde Governour and companie, their Attourney or Attourneys, Deputies or assignes, shall and may make and direct under the seale of the sayde Court one or more sufficient writte
[II. i. 301.] or writtes close or patent, unto every or any of the sayd Customers or other Officers to whom it shall appertaine, commaunding them and every of them thereby, that neither they nor any of them at any time or times during the sayd space of twelve yeeres shall take entrie of any

corants, raisins of Corinth, or wines of Candia, or take or make any agreement for any custome, pondage, or other subsidie for any of the sayd corants, raisins of Corinth, or wines of Candie, with any person or persons whatsoever, other then with, or in the name and by the privitie of the sayd governour and company or some of the same company.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we have condescended and graunted, and by these presents for us our heires and successours doe condescend and graunt to the sayd Governour and company of marchants of Levant, that wee our heires and successours, during the sayd terme, will not graunt libertie, licence, or power to any person or persons whatsoever contrary to the tenour of these our letters patents, to saile, passe, trade, or traffique by the sayde Levant Sea, into, or from the sayde dominions of the sayd Grand Signior or the dominions of the State of Venice or any of them, contrary to the true meaning of these presents, without the consent of the sayd Governour and Companie or the most part of them.

And whereas Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet have not yet assented to bee incorporated into the sayd societie of Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, neverthelesse sithence, as we be informed, they have bene traders that way heretofore; our will and pleasure is, and we doe hereby expressely commaund and charge that if it happen at any time within two moneths next following after the date hereof, the sayd Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet or either of them, to submit themselves to be of the sayd companie, and doe give such assurance as the sayd Governour and companie, or the more part of them shall allow of, to beare, pay, and performe such orders, constitutions, paiments and contributions, as other of the sayd company shall be ordered to beare, pay, and performe, that then every of the sayd Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet so doing and submitting himselfe, shall upon his or their request unto the

sayd Governour bee admitted into the sayd companie and corporation of Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, and have and enjoy the same, and as great liberties, privileges, and preheminences, as the rest of the sayde corporation or companie may, or ought to have by vertue of this our graunt. Any thing in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And our will and pleasure is, and hereby wee doe also ordaine that it shall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the sayde Governour and company of marchants of Levant or the more part of them, to admit into, and to be of the sayd companie, any such as have bene or shall bee employed as servants, factors, or agents in the trade of marchandise by the sayd Levant seas, into any the countries, dominions or territories of the sayd Grand Signior or Signiorie or State of Venice, according as they or the most part of them shall thinke requisite.

And where Anthony Ratcliffe, Steven Some, and Robert Brooke Aldermen of the saide Citie of London, Simon Laurence, John Wattes, John Newton, Thomas Middleton, Robert Coxe, John Blunt, Charles Faith, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Dansey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirste, Cæsar Doffie, Martine Bonde, Oliver Stile and Nicolas Stile Marchants of London for their abilities and sufficiencies have bene thought fit to be also of the sayd Company of the saide governour and Company of Marchants of Levant: Our will and pleasure and expresse commaundement is, and wee doe hereby establish and ordeine, that every such of the same Anthony Radcliffe, Steven Some, Robert Brooke, Simon Laurence, John Wattes, John Newton, Thomas Midleton, Robert Coxe, John Blunt, Charles Faith, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Dansey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirst, Cæsar Doffie, Martine Bonde, Oliver Style, and Nicolas Style, as shall pay unto the saide Governour and company of Marchants of Levante the summe of one hundred and thirtie poundes of lawfull English money within two monethes next after the date hereof towards

the charges that the same Company have already bene at in and about the establishing of the sayde trades shall from thencefoorth bee of the same company of Marchants of Levant as fully and amply and in like maner, as any other of that societie or Company.

Provided also, that wee our heires and successours at any time during the sayd twelve yeeres may lawfully appoynt and authorize two other persons exercising the lawfull trade of marchandize, and being fit men to bee of the sayd companie of Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, so that the sayd persons to bee nominated or authorized, shall aide, doe, beare, and paie such payments and charges touching and concerning the same trade and Companie of marchants of Levant, [II. i. 302.] ratablie as other of the sayd Companie of marchants of Levant shall, and doe, or ought to beare and pay: and doe also performe and observe the orders of the sayd Companie allowable by this our graunt, as others of the same doe or ought to doe. And that such two persons so to bee appoynted by us our heires or successours, shall and may with the sayd Company use the trade and feate of marchandise aforesayd, and all the liberties and privileges herein before granted, according to the meaning of these our letters patents, any thing in these our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided also, that if any of the marchants before by these presents named or incorporated, to bee of the sayd fellowship of Governour and companie of the merchants of Levant, shall not bee willing to continue or bee of the same companie, and doe give notice thereof, or make the same knowen to the sayd Governour within two moneths next after the date hereof, that then such person so giving notice, shall no further or any longer be of that companie, or have trade into those parties, nor be at any time after that of the same corporation or companie, or use trade into any the territories or countries aforesayd.

Provided alwayes neverthelesse, that every such person so giving notice and having at this present any goods or marchandises in any the Territories or countreys of the sayd Grand Signior, or Segniorie or State of Venice, may at any time within the space of eighteene moneths next, and immediately following after the date hereof, have free libertie, power, and authoritie to returne the same or the value thereof into this Realme, without using any traffique there, but immediately from thence hither, paying, bearing, answering, and performing all such charges, dueties and summes of money ratably as other of the same corporation or company doe or shall pay, beare, answere, or performe for the like.

Provided also, that if any of the persons before by these presents named or incorporated to bee of the sayd fellowship of Governour and Companie of the marchants of Levant, or which hereafter shall bee admitted to bee of the sayde Corporation or Companie, shall at any time or times hereafter refuse to bee of the sayd Corporation or Companie, or to beare, pay, or be contributorie to, or not beare and pay such ratable charges and allowances, or to observe or performe such ordinances to bee made as is aforesayd, as other of the same company are, or shall bee ordered, to beare, paie, or performe, that then it shall and may bee lawfull for the rest of the sayd Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, presently to expell, remoove, and displace every such person so refusing, or not bearing or paying out, of, and from the sayd Corporation and companie, and from all privilege, libertie, and preheminence which any such person should, or might claime, or have by vertue of this our graunt, and in place of them to elect others exercising the lawfull trade of marchandise to bee of the sayd Companie. And that every such person so expelled, remooved, or displaced by consent of the sayd Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, or the more part of them, shall bee from thencefoorth utterly disabled to take any benefite by vertue of this privilege, or any time

after to bee admitted or received againe into the same, any thing in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, that if it shall hereafter appeare to us our heires and successours, that this graunt or the continuance thereof in the whole or in any part thereof, shall not bee profitable to us our heires and successours, or to this our realme, that then and from thencefoorth, upon and after eighteene moneths warning to bee given to the sayd companie by us our heires and successours, this present graunt shall cease, bee voyd, and determined to all intents, constructions and purposes.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, wee have condescended and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successours, doe condescend and graunt to the sayde Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, that if at the ende of the sayd terme of twelve yeeres it shall seeme meete and convenient to the sayde Governour and Companie, or any the parties aforesayd, that this present graunt shall bee continued: And if that also it shall appeare unto us, our heires and successours, that the continuance thereof shall not bee prejudiciall or hurtfull to this our realme, but that wee shall finde the further continuance thereof profitable for us our heires and successours and for our realme with such conditions as are herein mentioned, or with some alteration or qualification thereof, that then wee our heires and successours at the instance and humble petition of the sayde Governour and Companie, or any of them so suing for the same, and such other person and persons our subjectes as they shall nominate and appoint, or shall bee by us, our heires and successours newly nominated, not exceeding in number twelve, new letters patents under the great seale of England in due forme of lawe with like cove- [II. i. 303.]
nants, graunts, clauses, and articles, as in these presents are contained, or with addition of other necessarie articles or changing of these in some partes, for, and during

the full terme of twelve yeeres then next following. Willing now hereby, and straightly commaunding and charging all and singular our Admirals, Vice-admirals, Justices, Maiors, Shiriffes, Escheators, Constables, Bailiffes, and all and singular other our Officers, Ministers, Liegemen and subjects whatsoever, to bee aiding, favouring, helping, and assisting unto the sayd Companie and their successours, and to their Deputies, Officers, Factors, servaunts, assignes and ministers, and every of them, in executing and enjoying the premisses as well on land as on Sea, from time to time, & at all times when you or any of you shal thereto bee required, any Statute, Acte, ordinance, Proviso, Proclamation or restraint heretofore had, made, set foorth, ordained or provided, or any other matter, cause or thing whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Although expresse mention of the true yeerely value or certaintie of the premisses, or any of them, or of any other gifts or graunts by us, or any of our progenitours to the sayde Governour and Companie of the marchants of Levant before this time made, in these presents is not made: Or any Statute, Acte, Ordinance, provision, proclamation or restraint to the contrary thereof before this time had, made, done, or provided, or any other matter, thing or cause whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof wee have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the seventh day of Januarie in the foure and thirtieth yeere of our raigne.

Per breve de privato Sigillo.

Bailie.

To the Worshipfull and his very loving Uncle M. Rowland Hewish Esquier, at Sand in Devonshire.



Ir, considering the goodnesse of your Nature which is woont kindely to accept from a friend, even of meane things being given with a good heart, I have presumed to trouble you with the reading of this rude discourse of my travailes into Turkie, and of the deliverie of the present with such other occurrents as there happened woorthie the observation: of all which proceedings I was an eie-witnesse, it pleasing the Ambassadour to take mee in with him to the Grand Signior. If for lacke of time to put it in order I have not performed it so well as it ought, I crave pardon, assuring you that to my knowledge I have not missed in the trueth of any thing. If you aske mee what in my travels I have learned, I answere as a noble man of France did to the like demaund, Hoc unum didici, mundi contemptum: and so concluding with the wise man in the booke of the Preacher, that all is vanitie, and one thing onely is necessarie, I take my leave and commit you to the Almightie. From London the 16. March 1597.

Your loving Nephew
Richard Wrag.

[A description

A description of a Voiage to Constantinople and Syria, begun the 21. of March 1593. and ended the 9. of August, 1595. wherein is shewed the order of delivering the second Present by Master Edward Barton her majesties Ambassador, which was sent from her Majestie to Sultan Murad Can, Emperour of Turkie.



E set saile in the Ascension of London, a new shippe very well appointed, of two hundred and three score tunnes (whereof was master one William Broadbanke, a provident and skilfull man in his facultie) from Gravesend the one and twentie of March 1593. And upon the eight of Aprill folowing wee passed the streights of Gibraltar, and with a small Westerne gale, the 24. of the same, we arrived at Zante an Iland under the Venetians. The fourth of May wee departed, and the one and twentie wee arrived at Alexandretta in Cilicia in the very bottome of the Mediterrane sea, a roade some 25. miles distant from Antioch, where our marchants land their goods to bee sent for Aleppo.

[II. i. 304.] From thence wee set saile the fift of June, and by contrary windes were driven upon the coast of Caramania into a road neere a litle Iland where a castle standeth, called Castle Rosso, some thirtie leagues to the Eastwards of the Rhodes, where after long search for fresh water, we could finde none, until certaine poore Greekes of the Iland brought us to a well where we had 5 or 6 tuns. That part of the country next the sea is very barren & full of mountains, yet found we there an olde tombe of marble, with an epitaph of an ancient Greeke caracter, by antiquity neere worne out and past reading; which to the beholders seemed a monument of the greatnesse of the Grecian monarchy.

From thence we went to the Rhodes, and by contrary windes were driven into a port of Candy, called Sittia: this Iland is under the Venetians, who have there 600 souldiers, beside certaine Greeks, continually in pay. Here with contrary winds we stayed six weeks, and in the end, having the winde prosperous, we sailed by Nicaria, Pharos, Delos, and Andros, with sight of many other Ilands in the Archipelago, and arrived at the two castles in Hellespont the 24 of August. Within few dayes after we came to Galipoli some thirty miles from this place, where foure of us tooke a Parma or boat of that place, with two watermen, which rowed us along the Thracian shore to Constantinople, which sometime sailing and sometime rowing, in foure dayes they performed. The first of September we arrived at the famous port of the Grand Signior, where we were not a little welcome to M. Edward Barton untill then her Majesties Agent, who (with many other great persons) had for many dayes expected the present. Five or sixe dayes after the shippe arrived neere the Seven towers, which is a very strong hold, and so called of so many turrets, which it hath, standing neere the sea side, being the first part of the city that we came unto. Heere the Agent appointed the master of the Ascension to stay with the shippe untill a fitte winde and opportunity served to bring her about the Seraglio to salute the Grand Signior in his moskyta or church: for you shall understand that he hath built one neere the wall of his Seraglio or pallace adjoyning to the Sea side; whereunto twise or thrise a weeke hee resorteth to performe such religious rites as their law requireth: where hee being within few dayes after, our shippe set out in their best maner with flagges, streamers and pendants of divers coloured silke, with all the mariners, together with most of the Ambassadours men, having the winde faire, and came within two cables length of this his moskita, where (hee to his great content beholding the shippe in such bravery) they discharged

Candie.

The Ascension arrived at the 7 towers.

The ship saluteth the grand Signior.

first two volies of small shot, and then all the great ordinance twise over, there being seven and twentie or eight and twentie pieces in the ship. Which performed, he appointed the Bustangi-Bassa or captaine of the great and spacious garden or parke, to give our men thankes, with request that some other day they would shew him the like sporte when hee would have the Sultana or Empresse a beholder thereof, which few dayes after at the shippes going to the Custome-house they performed.

The grand Signiors salutation thus ended, the master brought the ship to an anker at Rapamat neere the ambassadors house, where hee likewise saluted him with all his great ordinance once over, and where he landed the Present, the deliverie whereof for a time was staied: the cause of which staie it shall neither be dishonorable for our nation, or that woorthie man the ambassador to shew you. At the departure of Sinan Bassa the chiefe Vizir, and our ambassadors great friend toward the warres of Hungarie there was another Bassa appointed in his place, a churlish and harsh natured man, who upon occasion of certaine Genouezes, escaping out of the castles standing toward the Euxine Sea, nowe called the blacke Sea, there imprisoned, apprehended and threatened to execute one of our Englishmen called John Field, for that hee was taken thereabouts, and knowen not many dayes before to have brought a letter to one of them: upon the solliciting of whose libertie there fell a jarre betweene the Bassa (being now chiefe Vizir) and our ambassador, and in choler he gave her majesties ambassador such words, as without sustaining some great indignitie hee could not put up. Whereupon after the arrivall of the Present, he made an Arz, that is, a bill of Complaint to the grand Signior against him, the maner in exhibiting whereof is thus performed.

The cause of staying the present.

An Arz to the grand Signior.

The plaintifes expect the grand Signiors going abroad from his pallace, either to Santa Sophia or to his

church by the sea side, whither, with a Perma (that is one of their usuall whirries) they approch within some two or three score yards, where the plaintife standeth up, and holdeth his petition over his forehead in sight of the grand Signior (for his church is open to the Sea side) the rest sitting still in the boat, who appointeth one of his Dwarfes to receive them, and to bring them to him. A Dwarfe, one of the Ambassadors favorites, so soone as he was discerned, beckned him to the shore side, tooke his Arz, and with speed caried it to the grand Signior. Now the effect of it was this; that except his highnesse would redresse this so great an indignitie, which the Vizir his slave had offered him and her majestie in his person, he was purposed to detaine the Present untill such time as he might by letters over-land from her majestie bee certified, whither she would put up so great an injurie as it was. [II. i. 305.] Whereupon he presently returned answere, requesting the ambassador within an houre after to goe to the Dovan of the Vizir, unto whom himselfe of his charge would send a gowne of cloth of gold, and commaund him publikely to put it upon him, and with kind entertainment to embrace him in signe of reconciliation. Whereupon our ambassador returning home, tooke his horse, accompanied with his men, and came to the Vizirs court, where, according to the grand Signiors command, he with all shew of kindnesse embraced the ambassador, and with curteous speeches reconciled himselfe, and with his own hands put the gowne of cloth of gold upon his backe. Which done, hee with his attendants returned home, to the no small admiration of all Christians that heard of it, especially of the French and Venetian ambassadors, who never in the like case against the second person of the Turkish Empire durst have attempted so bold an enterprise with hope of so friendly audience, and with so speedie redresse. This reconciliation with the great Vizir thus made, the ambassador prepared himselfe for the deliverie of the

The great hall of Justice.

Reconciliation with the Vizir made.

Present, which upon the 7 of October 1593. in this maner he performed.

The ambassador goeth to the court with the present.

The Ascension with her flags and streamers, as aforesaid, repaired nigh unto the place where the ambassador should land to go up to the Seraglio: for you must understand that all Christian ambassadors have their dwelling in Pera where most Christians abide, from which place, except you would go 4 or 5 miles about, you cannot by land go to Constantinople, whereas by Sea it is litle broder then the Thames. Our Ambassador likewise apparelled in a sute of cloth of silver, with an upper gowne of cloth of gold, accompanied with 7 gentlemen in costly sutes of Sattin, with 30 other of his men very well apparelled, and all in one liverie of sad French russet cloth gownes, at his house tooke boate: at whose landing the ship discharged all her ordinance, where likewise attended 2 Bassas, with 40 or 50 Chauses to accompany ye ambassador to the court, & also horses for the ambassador & his gentlemen, very richly furnished, with Turkish servants attendant to take the horses when they should light. The ambassador thus honorably accompanied, the Chauses foremost, next his men on foote all going by two and two, himselfe last with his Chause and Drugaman or Interpreter, and 4 Janissaries, which he doeth usually entertaine in his house to accompany him continually abroad, came to the Seraglio about an English mile from the water side, where first hee passed a great gate into a large court (much like the space before White hall gate) where he with his gentlemen alighted and left their horses. From hence they passed into an other stately court, being about 6 score in bredth, and some 10 score yards long, with many trees in it: where all the court was with great pompe set in order to entertaine our ambassador. Upon the right hand all the length of the court was a gallerie arched over, and borne up with stone pillars, much like the Roiall Exchange, where stood* most of his guard in

The Ambass. came to the Seraglio.

** All these are captaines of hundreds and of fifties.*

rankes from the one end to the other in costly aray, with round head pieces on their heads of mettall and gilt over, with a great plume of fethers somewhat like a long brush standing up before. On the left hand stood the Cappagies or porters, and the Chauses. All these courtiers being about the number of 2000. (as I might well gesse) most of them apparelled in cloth of gold, silver, velvet, sattin and scarlet, did together with bowing their bodies, laying their hands upon their brests in curteous maner of salutation, entertain the Ambassador: who likewise passing between them, & turning himself somtime to the right hand and sometime to the left, answered them with the like. As he thus passed along, certaine Chauses conducted him to the Dovan, which is the seat of Justice, where certaine dayes of the weeke the grand Vizir, with the other Vizirs, the Cadi-lesker or lord chiefe Justice, & the Mufti or high priest do sit to determine upon such causes as be brought before them, which place is upon the left side of this great court, whither the ambassador with his gentlemen came, where hee found the Vizir thus accompanied as aforesayd, who with great shew of kindnes received him: and after receit of her majesties letters, & conference had of the Present, of her majesties health, of the state of England, and such other matters as concerned our peaceable traffique in those parts: dinner being prepared was by many of ye Courtiers brought into another inner roome next adjoining, which consisted of an hundred dishes or therabouts, most boiled & rosted, where the ambassador accompanied w^t^ the Vizirs went to dinner, his gentlemen likewise with the rest of his men having a dinner with the like varietie prepared upon ye same side of the court, by themselves sate downe to their meat, 40 or 50 Chauses standing at the upper end attending upon the gentlemen to see them served in good order; their drinke was water mingled with rose water & sugar brought in a Luthro (that is a goates skinne) which a man carieth at his backe, and under his arme letteth it run out at a spout into cups as men wil call for

The ambassador received by the Vizir with all kindnesse.

Diner brought in.

it. The dinner thus with good order brought in, and for halfe an houre with great sobrietie and silence performed, was not so orderly taken up; for certaine Moglans officers of the kitchin (like her majesties blacke guard) came in disordered maner and tooke away the dishes, and he whose hungry eie one dish could not satisfie, turned two or three one into the other, and thus of a sudden was a cleane riddance made of all. The ambassador after dinner with his gentlemen, by certaine officers were placed at the upper ende upon the left side of the court, nere unto a great gate which gave entrance to a third court being but litle, paved with stone. In the midst whereof was a litle house built of marble, as I take it, within which sate the grand Signor, according to whose commandement given there were gownes of cloth of gold brought out of the wardrope, and put upon the ambassador and 7 of his gentlemen, the ambassador himselfe having 2, one of gold, and the other of crimosin velvet, all the rest one a piece. Then certaine Cappagies had the Present, which was in trunks there ready, delivered them by the ambassadors men, it being 12 goodly pieces of gilt plate, 36 garments of fine English cloth of al colors, 20 garments of cloth of gold, 10 garments of sattin, 6 pieces of fine Holland, and certaine other things of good value; al which were caried round about the court, each man taking a piece, being in number very neere 100 parcels, and so 2 and 2 going round that all might see it, to the greater glory of the present, and of him to whom it was given: they went into the innermost court passing by the window of that roome, where the grand Signior sate, who, as it went by to be laid up in certaine roomes adjoining, tooke view of all. Presently after the present followed the ambassador with his gentlemen; at the gate of which court stoode 20 or 30 Agaus which be eunuchs. Within the court yard were the Turkes Dwarfes and Dumbe men, being most of them youths. At the doore of his roome stood the Bustangibassa, with another Bassa to lead the ambassador and his

Diner taken away.

[II. i. 306.]

Gownes of cloth of gold for the ambassador and his gentlemen.

The Present.

The Present viewed.

A.D. 1593.

folowers to the grand Signior who sate in a chaire of estate, apparelled in a gowne of cloth of silver. The floore under his feete, which part was a foote higher then the rest, was covered with a carpet of green sattin embrodered most richly with silver, orient perles & great Turkeses; ye other part of the house was covered with a carpet of Carnation sattin imbrodered w^t^ gold, none were in the roome with him, but a Bassa who stood next the wall over against him hanging down his head, & looking submissely upon the ground as all his subjects doe in his presence. The ambassador thus betwixt two which stood at the doore being led in, either of them taking an arme, kissed his hand, and so backward with his face to the Turke they brought him nigh the dore againe, where he stood untill they had likewise done so with all the rest of his gentlemen. Which ended, the ambassador, according as it is the custome when any present is delivered, made his three demaunds, such as he thought most expedient for her majesties honor, & the peaceable traffique of our nation into his dominions: whereunto he answered in one word, Nolo, which is in Turkish as much as, it shal be done: for it is not the maner of the Turkish emperor familiarly to confer with any Christian ambassador, but he appointeth his Vizir in his person to graunt their demaunds if they be to his liking; as to our ambassador he granted all his demands, & gave order that his daily allowance for his house of mony, flesh, wood, & haie, should be augmented with halfe as much more as it had bene before. Hereupon the ambassador taking his leave, departed with his gentlemen the same way he came, the whole court saluting him as they did at his comming in; & comming to the second court to take our horses, after we were mounted, we staied halfe an houre, until the captain of the guard with 2000 horsmen at the least passed before, after whom folowed 40 or 50 Chauses next before the ambassador to accompany him to his house. And as before at his landing, so now at his taking boat, the ship discharged

The ambassador kisseth the grand Signiors hand.

The ambassadors demands granted.

all her great ordinance, where arriving, he likewise had a great banquet prepared to entertaine those which came to bring him home. The pompe & solemnitie of the Present, with the day thus ended, he shortly after presented the Sultana or empresse who (by reason that she is mother to him which was heire to the crown Imperial) is had in far greater reverence then any of his other Queens or concubines. The Present sent her in her majesties name was a jewel of her majesties picture, set with some rubies and diamants, 3 great pieces of gilt plate, 10 garments of cloth of gold, a very fine case of glasse bottles silver & gilt, with 2 pieces of fine Holland, which so gratefully she accepted, as that she sent to know of the ambassador what present he thought she might return y^t^ would most delight her majestie: who sent word that a sute of princely attire being after the Turkish fashion would for the rarenesse thereof be acceptable in England. Whereupon she sent an upper gowne of cloth of gold very rich, an under gowne of cloth of silver, and a girdle of Turkie worke, rich and faire, with a letter of gratification, which for the rarenesse of the stile, because you may be acquainted with it, I have at the ende of this discourse hereunto annexed, which letter and present, with one from the grand Signor, was sent by M. Edward Bushell, and M. William Aldridge over-land the 20 of March, who passed through Valachia and Moldavia, & so through Poland, where Michael prince of Valachia, and Aron Voivoda prince of Moldavia receiving letters from the ambassador, entertained them with al curtesie, through whose meanes by the great favour which his lordship had with the grand Signior, they had not long before both of them bene advanced to their princely dignities. Hee likewise presented Sigala the Admirall of the Seas, with Abrim Bassa, who maried the great Turkes daughter, and all the other Vizirs with divers pieces of plate, fine English cloth & other costly things: the particulars whereof, to avoid tediousnesse, I omit. All the presents thus ended, the ship

The Sultanas present.

The Sultanas present to the Queene.

Letters sent for England.

The others Vizirs presented.

[II. i. 307.]

A.D. 1594.

shooting ten pieces of ordinance at the Seraglio point, as a last farewell, departed on her journey for England the first of November, my selfe continuing in Constantinople untill the last of July after. This yere in the spring there was great preparation for the Hungarian wars; and the great Turke threatened to goe himselfe in person: but like Heliogabalus, his affections being more serviceable to Venus then to Mars, he stayed at home. Yet a great army was dispatched this yere; who, as they came out of Asia to goe for Hungary, did so pester the streets of Constantinople for the space of two moneths in the spring time, as scarse either Christian or Jew could without danger of losing his money passe up and downe the city. What insolencies, murders and robberies were committed not onely upon Christians but also upon Turks I omit to write, and I pray God in England the like may never be seene: and yet I could wish, that such amongst us as have injoyed the Gospel with such great and admirable peace and prosperity under her Majesties government this forty yeeres, and have not all this time brought forth better fruits of obedience to God, and thankfulnesse to her Majesty, were there but a short time to beholde the miserable condition both of Christians and others living under such an infidell prince, who not onely are wrapped in most palpable & grosse ignorance of mind, but are cleane without the meanes of the true knowledge of God: I doubt not but the sight hereof (if they be not cleane void of grace) would stirre them up to more thankefulnesse to God, that ever they were borne in so happy a time, and under so wise and godly a prince professing the true religion of Christ.

The Ascension departeth.

Great preparation for the Hungarian warres.

The number of souldiours which went to the warres of Hungary this yere were 470000, as by the particulars given by the Admirall to the Ambassadour hereunder doe appeare. Although all these were appointed and supposed to goe, yet the victories which the Christians in the spring had against the Turks strooke such a

terrour in many of the Turkish souldiours, as by report divers upon the way thither left their Captaines and stole away.

The number of Turkish souldiers which were appointed to goe into Hungary against the Christian Emperour. May 1594.

SInan Bassa generall, with the Sanjacke masould, that is, out of office, with the other Sanjacks in office or of degree, 40000.

Achmigi, that is, Adventurers, 50000.

The Agha or Captaine with his Janisaries, and his Giebegies, 20000.

The Beglerbeg of Græcia, with all his Sanjacks, 40000.

The company of Spaheis or horsemen, 10000.

The company of Silitari, 6000.

The company of Sagbulve and of Solbulve both together, 8000.

The Bassa of Belgrad,
The Bassa of Temiswar.
The Bassa of Bosna.
The Bassa of Buda.
The Sanjack of Gersech. } 80000.

Out of Asia.

The Bassa of Caramania.
The Bassa of Laras.
The Bassa of Damasco.
The Bassa of Suas.
The Bassa of Van or Nan.
The Bassa of Usdrum. } 120000.

Of Tartars there be about 100000.

Thus you may see that the great Turke maketh warre with no small numbers. And in anno 1597, when Sultan Mahomet himselfe went in person into Hungary, if a man may beleeve reports, he had an army of 600000.

For the city of Constantinople you shall understand that it is matchable with any city in Europe, aswell in bignesse as for the pleasant situation thereof, and commodious traffike and bringing of all maner of necessary provision of victuals, and whatsoever els mans life for the sustentation thereof shall require, being seated upon a promontory, looking toward Pontus Euxinus upon the Northeast, and to Propontis on the Southwest, by which two seas by shipping is brought great store of all maner [II. i. 308.] of victuals. The city it selfe in forme representeth a triangular figure, the sea washing the walles upon two sides thereof, the other side faceth the continent of Thracia; the grand Signiors seraglio standeth upon that point which looketh into the sea, being cut off from the city by a wall; so that ye wall of his pallace conteineth in circuit about two English miles: the seven towers spoken of before stand at another corner, & Constantines olde pallace to the North at the third corner. The city hath a threefolde wall about it; the innermost very high, the next lower then that, and the third a countermure, and is in circuit about ten English miles: it hath foure and twenty gates: and when the empire was remooved out of the West into the East, it was inriched with many spoiles of olde Rome by Vespasian and other emperours, having many monuments and pillars in it worthy the observation; amongst the rest in the midst of Constantinople standeth one of white marble called Vespasians pillar, of 38 or 40 yards high, which hath from the base to the top proportions of men in armour fighting on horsebacke: it is likewise adorned with divers goodly buildings & stately Mesquitas, whereof the biggest is Sultan Solimans a great warriour, which lived in the time of Charles the fifth; but the fairest is Santa Sophia, *Santa Sophia.* which in the time of the Christian emperours was the chiefe cathedrall church, and is still in greatest account with the great Turke: it is built round like other Greekish churches, the pavements and walles be all of marble, it hath beneath 44 pillars of divers coloured

marble of admirable heigth and bignesse, which stand upon great round feet of brasse, much greater then the pillars, and of a great heigth, some ten yards distant from the wall: from which unto these pillars is a great gallery built, which goeth round about the church; and upon the outside of the gallery stand 66 marble pillars which beare up the round roofe being the top of the church: it hath three pulpits or preaching places, and about 2000 lampes brought in by the Turke. Likewise upon one side in the top is the picture of Christ with the 12 Apostles, but their faces are defaced, with two or three ancient tombs of Christians: to the West sticketh an arrow in the toppe of the church, which, as the Turks report, Sultan Mahomet shot when he first tooke the city. Neere adjoyning be two chapels of marble, where lie buried most of the emperours with their children & sultanas. The 16 of July, accompanied with some other of our nation we went by water to the Blacke sea, being 16 miles distant from Constantinople, the sea al the way thither being little broader then the Thames; both sides of the shore are beautified with faire & goodly buildings. At the mouth of this Bosphorus lieth a rocke some foure-score yards from the maine land, whereupon standeth *Pompeys pillar* a white marble pillar called Pompeys pillar, the shadow whereof was 23 foote long at nine of the clocke in the forenoone: over against it is a turret of stone upon the maine land 120 steps high, having a great glasse-lanthorne in the toppe foure yards in diamiter and three in heigth, with a great copper pan in the midst to holde oile, with twenty lights in it, and it serveth to give passage into this straight in the night to such ships as come from all parts of those seas to Constantinople: it is continually kept by a Turke, who to y^t^ end hath pay of the grand Signior. And thus having spent eleven moneths in Constantinople, accompanied with a chause, & carying certaine mandates from the grand Signior to the Bassa of Aleppo for the kinde usage of our nation in those parts, the 30 of July I tooke passage in a Turkish car-

mosale or shippe bound for Sidon; and passing thorow Propontis, having Salimbria with Heraclia most pleasantly situated on the right hand, and Proconesus now called Marmora on the left, we came to Gallipoly, and so by *Gallipoly.* Hellespont, betweene the two castles before named called Sestos and Abydos, famous for the passages made there both by Xerxes and great Alexander, the one into Thracia, the other into Asia, and so by the Sigean Promontory, now called Cape Janitzary, at the mouth of Hellespont upon Asia side, where Troy stood, where are yet ruines *Troy.* of olde walles to be seene, with two hils rising in a piramidall forme, not unlikely to be the tombs of Achilles and Ajax. From thence we sailed along, having Tenedos and Lemnos on the right hand, and the Trojan fields on the left: at length we came to Mitylen and Sio long *Zio.* time inhabited by the Genoueses, but now under the Turke. The Iland is beautified with goodly buildings and pleasant gardens, and aboundeth with fruits, wine, and the gum masticke. From thence sailing alongst the gulfe of Ephesus with Nicaria on the right hand, Samos and Smirna on the left, we came to Patmos, where S. *Patmos.* John wrote the Revelation. The Iland is but small, not above five miles in compasse: the chiefe thing it yeeldeth is corn: it hath a port for shipping, and in it is a monastery of Greekish Caloieros. From thence by Cos *Cos.* (now called Lango) where Hipocrates was borne: & passing many other Ilands and rocks, we arrived at Rhodes, *Rhodes.* one of the strongest and fairest cities of the East: here we stayed three or foure dayes; and by reason of a By which went in the ship to Paphos in Cyprus, who used me with all kindnesse, I went about the city, and tooke the view of all: which city is still with all the houses and walles thereof maintained in the same order as they tooke it from the Rhodian knights. Over the doores of many of the houses, which be strongly built of stone, do remaine undefaced, the armes of England, [II. i. 309.] France, Spaine, and many other Christian knights, as though the Turkes in the view thereof gloried in the

taking of all Christendome, whose armes there they beholde. From thence we sailed to Paphos an olde ruinous towne standing upon the Westerne part of Cyprus, where S. Paul in the Acts converted the gover-
Sidon. nor. Departing hence, we came to Sidon, by the Turks called Saytosa, within tenne or twelve miles of the place
Ezek. 26. 5. where Tirus stood, which now being eaten in by the sea, is, as Ezekiel prophesied, a place for the spreading out of a net. Sidon is situated in a small bay at the foot of mount Libanus, upon the side of an hill looking to the North: it is walled about, with a castle nigh to the sea, and one toward the land which is ruinated, but the walle thereof standeth. Some halfe mile up toward the mountaine be certaine ruines of buildings, with marble pillars, remaining: heere for three dayes we were kindly entertained of the captaine of the castle: and in a small barke we sailed from hence along the shore to Tripoli, & so to Alexandretta, where the 24 of August we arrived. From thence with a Venetian caravan we went by land to Aleppo, passing by
Antioch. Antioch, which is seated upon the side of an hill, whose walles still stand with 360 turrets upon them, and neere a very great plaine which beareth the name of the city, thorow which runneth the river Orontes, in Scrip-
Aleppo. ture called Farfar. In Aleppo I stayed untill February following; in this city, as at a mart, meete many nations out of Asia with the people of Europe, having continuall traffike and interchangeable course of marchandise one with another: the state and trade of which place, because it is so well knowen to most of our nation I omitte to write of. The 27 of February I departed from Aleppo, and the fifth of March imbarked my selfe at Alexandretta in a great ship of Venice called the Nana Ferra, to come for England. The 14 we put into Salino in Cyprus, where the ship staying many dayes to lade cotton wooll, and other commodities, in the meane time accompanied with M. William Barret my countrey man, the master of the ship a Greeke,

and others we tooke occasion to see Nicosia, the chiefe city of this Iland, which was some twenty miles from this place, which is situated at the foot of an hill: to the East is a great plaine, extending it selfe in a great length from the North to the South: it is walled about, but of no such strength as Famagusta (another city in this Iland neere the Sea side) whose walles are cut out of the maine rocke. In this city be many sumptuous and goodly buildings of stone, but uninhabited; the cause whereof doth give me just occasion to shew you of a rare judgement of God upon the owners sometime of these houses, as I was credibly informed by a Cipriot a marchant of good wealth in this city. Before it came in subjection to the Turks, while it was under the Venetians, there were many barons and noble men of the Cipriots, who partly by usurping more superiority over the common people then they ought, and partly through their great revenues which yeerely came in by their cotton wooll and wines, grew so insolent and proud, and withall so impiously wicked, as that they would at their pleasure command both the wives and children of their poore tenants to serve their uncleane lusts, & holding them in such slavery as though they had beene no better then dogges, would wage them against a grayhound or spaniell, and he who woon the wager should ever after holde them as his proper goods and chattels, to do with them as he listed, being Christians aswell as themselves, if they may deserve so good a name. As they behaved themselves most unchristianly toward their brethren, so and much more ungodly (which I should have put in the first place) did they towards God: for as though they were too great, standing on foot or kneeling to serve God, they would come riding on horsebacke into the church to heare their masse: which church now is made a publike basistane or market place for the Turkes to sell commodities in: but beholde the judgement of the righteous God, who payeth the sinner measure for measure. The

Nicosia.

A great judgement of God upon the noble men of Cyprus.

Turkes the yeere before the overthrowe given them at Lepanto by Don John tooke Cyprus. These mighty Nimrods fled some into holes & some into mountaines to hide themselves; whereupon the Turkes made generall proclamation, that if they would all come in and yeeld themselves, they would restore them to their former revenues and dignities: who not mistrusting the mischievous pretense of the Turkes, assembled together to make themselves knowen; whom after the Turkes had in possession, they (as the Lords executioners) put them with their wives and children all to the sword, pretending thereby to cut of all future rebellion, so that at this day is not one of the noble race knowen alive in the Iland, onely two or three remaine in Venice but of litle wealth, which in the time of the warres escaped. After we had stayed in this Iland some thirty dayes, we set saile in the foresayd shippe being about the burthen of 900 tunnes, having in her passengers of divers nations, as Tartars, Persians, Jewes, and sundry Christians. Amongst all which I had often conference with a Jew, who by reason of his many yeeres education at Safet a place in Judea neere Jerusalem, where they study the Rabbines with some other arts as they thinke good, as also for his travels into Persia and Ormus, he seemed to be of good experience in matters abroad, who related unto me such conference as he had with a Baniane at Ormus, being one of the Indians inhabiting the countrey of Cambaia. This Baniane being a Gentile had skill in Astronomie, as many of that nation have, who by his books written in his owne tongue and Characters, could tell the time of Eclipses both of Sunne and Moone, with the Change and Full, and by judgement in Astrologie gave answere to any question demanded. Being asked concerning his opinion in religion, what he thought of God? He made answere, that they held no other god but the sun, (to which planet they pray both at the rising and setting) as I have seene sundry doe in Aleppo: his reason

[II. i. 310.]

Indians skilfull in Astronomy.

was drawen from the effects which it worketh in giving light to the moone & other starres, and causing all things to grow and encrease upon the earth: answere was made, that it did moove with the rest as the wheeles of a clocke, and therefore of force must have a moover. Likewise in the Eclipse being darkened it is manifestly prooved that it is not god, for God is altogether goodnesse and brightnesse, which can neither be darkened nor receive detriment or hurt: but the Sun receiveth both in the Eclipse, as it is apparant: to which hee could not answere; but so they had received from their ancestors, that it was without beginning or ende, as in any Orbicular or round body neither beginning or end could be found. He likewise sayd, that there were other Gentiles in ye Indies which worship the moone as chiefe, and their reason is. The moone when she riseth goeth with thousands of starres accompanied like a king, and therefore is chiefe: but the Sunne goeth alone, and therefore not so great. Against whom the Banianes reason, that it is not true, because the Moone and starres receive their light from the Sunne, neither doth the Sunne vouchsafe them his company but when he list, and therefore like a mighty prince goeth alone, yet they acknowledge the Moone as Queene or Viceroy. Law they hold none, but onely seven precepts which they say were given them from their father Noe, not knowing Abraham or any other. First, to honor father and mother; secondly, not to steale; thirdly not to commit adultery; fourthly not to kill any thing living; fiftly, not to eate any thing living; sixtly, not to cut their haire; seventhly, to go barefoot in their churches. These they hold most strictly, & by no meanes will breake them: but he that breaketh one is punished with twenty stripes; but for the greatest fault they will kill none, neither by a short death nor a long, onely he is kept some time in prison with very little meat, and hath at the most not above twenty or five & twenty stripes. In the yere

The seven precepts of Banianes.

they have 16 feasts, and then they go to their church, where is pictured in a broad table the Sun, as we use to paint it, the face of a man with beames round about, not having any thing els in it. At their feast they spot their faces in divers parts with saffron all yellow, and so walke up and downe the streets; and this they doe as a custome. They hold, there shalbe a resurrection, and all shall come to judgement, but the account shalbe most streight, insomuch that but one of 10000 shalbe received to favor, and those shall live againe in this world in great happinesse: the rest shalbe tormented. And because they will escape this judgement, when any man dieth, he and his wife be both burnt together even to ashes, and then they are throwen into a river, and so dispersed as though they had never bene. If the wife will not burne with her dead husband, she is holden ever after as a whore. And by this meanes they hope to escape the judgement to come. As for the soule, that goeth to the place from whence it came, but where the place is they know not. That the body should not be made againe they reason w^t^ the phylosophers, saying, that of nothing nothing can be made (not knowing that God made the whole world and their god the Sun of nothing) but beholding the course of nature, that nothing is made but by a meanes, as by the seed of a man is made another, and by corne cast into the ground there commeth up new corne: so, say they, man cannot be made except some part of him be left, and therefore they burne the whole: for if he were buried in the earth, they say there is a small bone in the necke which would never be consumed: or if he were eaten by a beast, that bone would not consume, but of that bone would come another man; and then the soule being restored againe, he should come into judgement, whereas now, the body being destroyed, the soule shall not be judged: for their opinion is, that both body and soule must be united together, as they have sinned together, to receive

judgement; and therfore the soule alone cannot. Their seven precepts which they keepe so strictly are not for any hope of reward they have after this life, but onely that they may be blessed in this world, for they thinke that he which breaketh them shall have ill successe in all his businesse.

They say, the three chiefe religions in the world be of the Christians, Jewes, & Turks, & yet but one of them true: but being in doubt which is the truest of the three, they will be of none: for they hold that all these three shall be judged, and but few of them which be of the true shall be saved, the examination shall be so straight; and therefore, as I have sayd before, to prevent this judgement, they burne their bodies to ashes. They say, these three religions have too many precepts to keepe them all wel, & therfore wonderful hard it wil be to make account, because so few doe observe all their religion aright. And thus passing the time for the space of three moneths in this sea voyage, [II i. 311.] we arrived at Venice the tenth of June: and after I had seene Padua, with other English men, I came the ordinary way over the Alpes, by Augusta, Noremberg, and so for England; where to the praise of God I safely arrived the ninth of August 1595.

[A letter

A letter written by the most high and mighty Empresse the wife of the Grand Signior Sultan Murad Can to the Queenes Majesty of England, in the yeere of our Lord, 1594.



L principio del ragionamento nostro sia scrittura perfetta nelle quatro parte del mondo, in nome di quello che ha creato indifferentemente tante infinite creature, che non havevano anima ni persona, & di quello che fa girar gli nove cieli, & che la terra sette volte una sopra l' altra fa firmar; Signor & Re senza vicere, & che non ha comparacion alla sua creatione ne opera, & uno senza precio, adorato incomparabilmente, l' altissimo Dio creatore; che non ha similitudine, si come e descrito dalli propheti: a la cui grandessa non si arrive, & alla perfettione sua compiuta non si oppone, & quel omnipotente creatore & cooperatore; alla grandessa del quale inchinano tutti li propheti; fra quali il maggior & che ha ottenuto gracia, horto del paradiso, ragi dal sole, amato del altissimo Dio è Mahomet Mustaffa, al qual & suoi adherenti & imitatori sia perpetua pace: alla cui sepultura odorifera si fa ogni honore. Quello che è imperator de sette climati, & delle quatro parti del mondo, invincibile Re di Græcia, Agiamia, Ungeria, Tartaria, Valachia, Rossia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdet, Caramania, Abessis, Giouasir, Sirvan, Barbaria, Algieri, Franchia, Corvacia, Belgrado, &c. sempre felicissimo, & de dodeci Avoli possessor della corona, & della stirpe di Adam, fin hora Imperator, figliolo del'Imperatore, conservato de la divina providenza, Re di ogni dignita & honore, Sultan Murat, che Il Signor Dio sempre augmenti le sue forzze, & padre di quello a cui aspetta la corona imperiale, horto & cypresso mirabile, degno della sedia regale, & vero herede del commando imperiale, dignissimo Mehemet Can, filiol

de Sultan Murat Can, che dio compisca li suoi dissegni, & alunga li suoi giorni felici: Dalla parte della madre del qual si scrive la presente alla serenissima & gloriosissima fra le prudentissime Donne, & eletta fra li triomfanti sotto il standardo di Jesu Christo, potentissima & ricchissima regitrice, & al mondo singularissima fra il feminil sesso, la serenissima Regina d'Ingilterra, che segve le vestigie de Maria virgine, il fine della quale sia con bene & perfettione, secondo il suo desiderio. Le mando una salutacion di pace, cosi honorata, che non basta tutta la copia di rosignoli con le loro musiche arivare, non che con questa carta: l' amore singulare che e conciputo fra noi, e simile a un' horto di Uccelli vagi; che il Signor Dio la faci degna di salvacione, & il fine suo sia tale, che in questo mondo & nel' futuro sia con pace. Doppo comparsi li suoi honorati presenti da la sedia de la Serenita vostra, sapera che sono capitati in una hora che ogni punto e stato una consolation di lungo tempo, per occasione del Ambassadore di vostra serenita venuto alla felice porta del Imperatore, con tanto nostro contento, quanto si posso desiderare, & con quello una lettera di vostra serenetà, che ci estata presentata dalli nostri Eunuchi con gran honore; la carta de la quale odorava di camfora & ambracano, & l'inchiostro di musco perfetto, & quella pervenuta in nostro mano tutta la continenza di essa a parte a parte ho ascoltato intentamente. Quello che hora si conviene e, che correspondente alla nostra affecione, in tutto quello che si aspetta alle cose attenente alli paesi che sono sotto il commando di vostra serenità, lei non manchi di sempre tenermi, dato noticia, che in tutto quello che li occorerà, Io possi compiacerla; de quello che fra le nostre serenità e conveniente, accioche quelle cose che si interprenderano, habino il desiderato buon fine; perche Io saro sempre ricordevole al altissimo Imperatore delle occorenze di vostra serenita, per che sia in ogni occasione compiaciuta. La pace sia con vostra serenita, & con quelli che seguitano dretamente la via di Dio.

Scritta al primi dell luna di Rabie Livol, anno del profeta 1002, & di Jesu 1594.

The same in English.

LEt the beginning of our discourse be a perfect writing in the foure parts of the world, in the name of him which hath indifferently created such infinite numbers of creatures, which had neither soule nor body, and of him which mooveth the nine heavens, and stablisheth the earth seven times one above another, which is Lord and king without any deputy, who hath no comparison to his creation and worke, and is one inestimable, worshipped without all comparison, the most high God, the creator, which hath nothing like unto him, according as he is described by the Prophets, to whose power no man can attaine, and whose absolute perfection no man may controll; and that omnipotent creatour and fellow-worker,
[II. i. 312.] to whose Majesty all the Prophets submit themselves, among whom the greatest, and which hath obtained greatest favour, the garden of Paradise, the beame of the Sunne, the beloved of the most high God is Mahomet Mustaffa, to whom and to his adherents and followers be perpetuall peace, to whose fragrant sepulture all honour is performed. He which is emperour of the seven climats and of the foure parts of the world, the invincible king of Græcia, Agiamia, Hungaria, Tartaria, Valachia, Rossia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdet, Caramania, Abessis, Giouasir, Sirvan, Barbaria, Alger, Franchia, Corvacia, Belgrade, &c. alwayes most happy, and possessour of the crowne from twelve of his ancestours; and of the seed of Adam, at this present emperour, the sonne of an emperour, preserved by the divine providence, a king woorthy of all glory and honour, Sultan Murad, whose forces the Lord God alwayes increase, and father of him to whom the imperiall crowne is to descend, the paradise and woonderfull tall cypresse, worthy of the royall throne, and true heire of the imperiall authority, most woorthy Mehemet

Can, the sonne of Sultan Murad Can, whose enterprises God vouchsafe to accomplish, and to prolong his happy dayes: on the behalfe of whose mother this present letter is written to the most gracious and most glorious, the wisest among women, and chosen among those which triumph under the standard of Jesus Christ, the most mighty and most rich governour, and most rare among womankinde in the world, the most gracious Queene of England, which follow the steps of the virgine Mary, whose end be prosperous and perfect, according to your hearts desire. I send your Majesty so honorable and sweet a salutation of peace, that al the flocke of Nightingales with their melody cannot attaine to ye like, much lesse this simple letter of mine. The singular love which we have conceived one toward the other is like to a garden of pleasant birds: and the Lord God vouchsafe to save and keepe you, and send your Majesty an happy end both in this world and in the world to come. After the arrivall of your honourable presents from the Court of your Majesty, your Highnesse shall understand that they came in such a season that every minute ministred occasion of long consolation by reason of the comming of your Majesties Ambassadour to the triumphant Court of the Emperour, to our so great contentment as we could possibly wish, who brought a letter from your Majestie, which with great honour was presented unto us by our eunuks, the paper whereof did smell most fragrantly of camfor and ambargriese, and the incke of perfect muske; the contents whereof we have heard very attentively from point to point. I thinke it therefore expedient, that, according to our mutuall affection, in any thing whatsoever may concerne the countreys which are subject to your Majesty, I never faile, having information given unto me, in whatsoever occasion shall be ministred, to gratifie your Majesty to my power in any reasonable and convenient matter, that all your subjects businesses and affaires may have a wished and happy end. For I will alwayes be a sollicitour to the most mighty Emperour

This Sultana is mother to Mehemet which now reigneth as Emperor.

for your Majesties affaires, that your Majesty at all times may be fully satisfied. Peace be to your Majesty, and to all such as follow rightly the way of God. Written the first day of the Moone of Rabie Livol in the yere of the Prophet, 1002.

Ann. Dom. 1594.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS SECOND VOLUME

containing the

Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation,

made to the South and Southeast quarters of the world without the Straights of Gibraltar, namely to the Ilands of Madera, and of the Canaries, to the kingdome of Barbarie, to the Iles of Capo Verde, to the River of Senga, to the Coast of Ghinea and Benin, about the Cape of Buona Esperanza, and so to Goa in the East Indies, and likewise beyond cape Comori to the Iles of Nicubar, to the Iles of Sumatra, to the Channell of Sincapura over against the City of Malacca, and to divers other places

The voyage of Macham an English man, wherein he first of any man discovered the Iland of Madera, recorded verbatim in the Portugall history, written by Antonio Galvano. [II. ii. 1.]



N the yeere 1344, King Peter the fourth of that name reigning in Aragon, the Chronicles of his age write that about this time the Iland of Madera, standing in 32 degrees, was discovered by an English man, which was named Macham, who sailing out of England into Spaine, with a woman that he had stollen, arrived by tempest in that Iland, and did cast anker in that haven or bay, which now is called Machico after the name of Macham.

Madera first discovered by one Macham an Englishman

And because his lover was sea-sicke, he went on land with some of his company, and the shippe with a good winde made saile away, and the woman died for thought. Macham, which loved her dearely, built a chapell, or hermitage, to bury her in, calling it by the name of Jesus, and caused his name and hers to be written or graven upon the stone of her tombe, and the occasion of their arrivall there. And afterward he ordeined a boat made of one tree (for there be trees of a great compasse about) and went to sea in it, with those men that he had, and were left behinde with him, and came upon the coast of Afrike, without saile or oare. And the Moores which saw it tooke it to be a marvellous thing, and presented him unto the king of that countrey for a woonder, and that king also sent him and his companions for a miracle unto the king of Castile.

Macham made there a chapel, naming it Jesus chapell.

In the yeere 1395, King Henry the third of that name reigning in Castile, the information which Macham gave of this Iland, and also the ship of his company, mooved many of France and Castile to go and discover it, and also the great Canaria, &c.

In the yeere 1417, King John the second reigning in Castile, and his mother Lady Katherine being Regent, one Monsieur Ruben of Bracamont, which was Admirall of France, demanding the conquest of the Ilands of the Canaries, with the title of King, for a kinsman of his named Monsieur John Betancourt, after that the Queene hath given him them, and holpen him, he departed from Sivil with a good army. And they affirme also, that the principall cause which moved him to this, was to discover the Iland of Madera, which Macham had found, &c. ibidem pag. 2. of Anthonio Galvano.

This note following, concerning the ayde and assistance of the English Marchants, given to King John the first of Portugall, for the winning of Ceuta in Barbarie, which was the first occasion of all the Portugall discoveries, is taken out of Thomas Walsingham his Latine Chronicle. Anno 1415.

HOc anno Joannes primus Rex Portugalliæ fretus auxilio Mercatorum Angliæ quàm maximè, & Alemannorum, vicit Agarenos in terra Regis Betinarinorum, multis eorum millibus ad generum Cereris destinatis: cepítque civitatem eorum quàm amplissimam supra mare sitam, vocatam Ceut eorum lingua.

The same in English. [II. ii. 2.]

THis yere John the first king of Portugall, being principally assisted by the helpe of the English Marchants, and Almaines, overcame the Moores in the dominion of the king of Barbary, putting many thousands of them to the sword, and he tooke their city which was very mighty, seated upon the sea, which is called Ceuta in their language.

[Confirmatio

Confirmatio treugarum inter Regem Angliæ Eduardum quartum, & Joannem secundum Regem Portugalliæ, datarum in oppido montis Majoris 8 Februarii, & apud Westmonasterium 12 Septembris, 1482, anno regni 22 Regis Eduardi quarti, lingua Lusitanica ex opere sequenti excerpta.

Libro das obras de Garcia de Resende, que tracta da vida è feitos del Rey dom Joham secundo.

Embaixada que el Rey mandov à el Rey d'Inglaterra, cap. 33.



Da qui de Monte Mor mandov el Rey por embaixadores à el rey dom Duarte de Inglaterra Ruy de Sousa pessoa principal è de muyto bon saber é credito, de que el Rey muyto confiava, é ho doutor Joam d'Elvas, é Fernam de Pina por secretario. E foram por mar muy honradamente com muy boa companhia: hos quaes foram en nome del Rey confirmar as ligas antiquas com Inglaterra, que polla condisan dellas ho novo Rey de hum reyno é do outro era obrigado à mandar confirmar: é tambien pera mostrarem ho titolo que el rey tinha no senhorio de Guinee, pera que depois de visto el rey d'Inglaterra defendesse em todos seus reynos, que ninguen armasse nem podesse mandar à Guinee: é assi mandasse desfazer huna armada, que pera laa faziam, per mandado do Duque de Medina Sidonia, hum Joam Tintam é hum Guilherme Fabiam Ingreses. Com ha qual embaixada el rey d'Inglaterra mostrov receber grande contentamento, é foy delle com muyta honra recebida, é em tudo fez inteiramente ho que pellos embaixadores lhe foy requerido. De que elles trouxeran ‖ autenticas escrituras das diligencias que con pubricos pregones fizeram: é assi as provisones das aprovasones que eran

‖ *These writings are in the Tower.*

necessarias: é com tudo muyto ben acabado, é ha vontade del rey se vieram.

The Ambassage which king John the second, king of Portugall, sent to Edward the fourth king of England, which in part was to stay one John Tintam, and one William Fabian English men, from proceeding in a voyage which they were preparing for Guinea, 1481, taken out of the booke of the workes of Gracias de Resende, which intreateth of the life and acts of Don John the second, king of Portugall. Chap. 33.

AND afterwards the king sent as Ambassadours from the towne of Monte major to king Edward the fourth of England, Ruy de Sousa, a principall person, and a man of great wisedome and estimation, and in whom the king reposed great trust, with doctor John d'Elvas, and Ferdinand de Pina, as secretarie. And they made their voyage by sea very honourably, being very well accompanied. These men were sent on the behalfe of their king, to confirme the ancient leagues with England, wherein it was conditioned that the new king of the one and of the other kingdome, should be bound to send to confirme the olde leagues. And likewise they had order to shew and make him acquainted with the title which the king held in the segneury of Ginnee, to the intent that after the king of England had seene the same, he should give charge thorow all his kingdomes, that no man should arme or set foorth ships to Ginnee: and also to request him, that it would please him to give commandement to dissolve a certaine fleet, which one John Tintam and one William Fabian, English men, were making, by commandement of the duke of Medina Sidonia, to goe to the aforesayd parts of Ginnee. With

The first cause of this ambassage.

The second cause.

The third cause.

which ambassage the king of England seemed to be very well pleased, and they were received of him with very great honour, and he condescended unto all that the ambassadours required of him, at whose hands they received authenticall writings of the diligence which they had performed, with publication thereof by the heralds: and also provisoes of those confirmations which were necessary. And having dispatched all things well, and with the kings good will, they returned home into their countrey.

[II. ii. 3.]

A briefe note concerning an ancient trade of the English Marchants to the Canarie-ilands, gathered out of an olde ligier booke of M. Nicolas Thorne the elder a worshipfull marchant of the city of Bristoll.

IT appeareth evidently out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the custody of me Richard Hakluyt, written by M. Nicolas Thorne the elder a principall marchant of Bristoll, to his friend and factour Thomas Midnall and his owne servant William Ballard at that time resident at S. Lucar in Andaluzia; that in the yeere of our Lord 1526 (and by all circumstances and probabilities long before) certaine English marchants, and among the rest himselfe with one Thomas Spacheford exercised usuall and ordinary trade of marchandise unto the Canarie Ilands. For by the sayd letter notice was given to Thomas Midnall and William Ballard aforesayd, that a certaine ship called The Christopher of Cadiz bound for the West Indies had taken in certaine fardels of cloth both course and fine, broad and narrow of divers sorts and colours, some arovas of packthreed, sixe cerons or bagges of sope with other goods of M. Nicolas Thorne, to be delivered at Santa Cruz the chiefe towne in Tenerifa one of the seven Canary-ilands. All which commodities the sayd Thomas and William were authorised by the owner in the letter

The English had an ordinary trade to the Canaries 1526.

before mentioned to barter & sell away at Santa Cruz. And in lieu of such mony as should arise of the sale of those goods they were appointed to returne backe into England good store of Orchell (which is a certaine kinde of mosse growing upon high rocks, in those dayes much used to die withall) some quantity of sugar, and certaine hundreds of kid-skinnes. For the procuring of which and of other commodities at the best and first hand the sayd Thomas and William were to make their abode at Santa Cruz, and to remaine there as factours for the abovesayd M. Nicolas Thorne.

And here also I thought good to signifie, that in the sayd letters mention is made of one Thomas Tison an English man, who before the foresayd yere 1526 had found the way to the West Indies, and was there resident, unto whom the sayd M. Nicolas Thorne sent certaine armour and other commodities specified in the letter aforesayd.

A description of the fortunate Ilands, otherwise called the Ilands of Canaria, with their strange fruits and commodities: composed by Thomas Nicols English man, who remained there the space of seven yeeres together.

MIne intent is particularly to speake of the Canaria Ilands, which are seven in number, wherein I dwelt the space of seven yeres and more, because I finde such variety in sundry writers, and especially great untruths, in a booke called The New found world Antarctike, set out by a French man called Andrew Thevet, the which his booke he dedicated to the Cardinall of Sens, keeper of the great seale of France.

It appeareth by the sayd booke that he had read the works of sundry Phylosophers, Astronomers, and Cosmographers, whose opinions he gathered together. But

touching his owne travell, which he affirmeth, I refer to the judgement of the expert in our dayes, and therefore for mine owne part I write of these Canaria Ilands, as time hath taught me in many yeres.

The Iland of Canaria.

THe Iland of Canaria is almost equal in length and bredth, containing 12 leagues in length, touching the which as principall and the residue, the Spanyards holde opinion, that they discovered the same in their navigation toward America, but the Portugals say, that their nation first found the sayd Ilands in their navigation toward Aethiopia and the East Indies.

English men at the first conquest of the Canaries.

But truth it is that the Spanyards first conquered these Ilands, with divers English gentlemen in their company, whose posterity this present day injoyeth them. Some write that this Iland was named Canaria by meane of the number of dogs which there were found: as for example, Andrew Thevet sayth, that one Juba carried two dogs from thence: but that opinion could I never learne by any of the naturall people of the countrey, although I have talked with many in my time, and with many of their children. For trueth it is, that there were dogs, but such as are in all the Northwest *lands, and some part of the West India, which served the people in stead of sheepe for victuall. But of some of the conquerors of those Ilands I have heard say that the reason why they were called the Canaria Islands is, because there grow generally in them all fouresquare canes in great multitude together, which being touched will cast out a liquor as white as milke, which liquor is ranke poison, and at the first entry into these Ilands some of the discoverers were therewith poisoned: for many yeeres after that conquest the inhabitants began to plant both wine and sugar, so that Canaria was not so called by sugar canes.

[II. ii. 4.]

The people which first inhabited this land were called Canaries by the conquerors, they were clothed in goat skinnes made like unto a loose cassocke, they dwelt in

caves in the rocks, in great amity and brotherly love. They spake all one language: their chiefe feeding was gelt dogges, goates, and goates milke, their bread was made of barley meale and goates milke, called Gofia, which they use at this day, and thereof I have eaten divers times, for it is accounted exceeding holesome.

Touching the originall of these people some holde opinion, that the Romans which dwelt in Africa exiled them thither, aswell men as women, their tongues being cut out of their heads, for blasphemy against the Romane gods. But howsoever it were, their language was speciall, and not mixed with Romane speech or Arabian.

This Iland is now the principallest of all the rest, not in fertility, but by reason it is the seat of justice and government of all the residue. This Iland hath a speciall Governour for the Iland onely, yet notwithstanding there are three Judges called Auditours, who are superiour Judges, and all in one joyntly proceed as the Lord Chanceller of any realme.

To this city from all the other Ilands come all such by appeale, as have sustained any wrong, and these good Judges do remedy the same. The city is called Civitas Palmarum, it hath a beautifull Cathedrall church, with all dignities thereunto pertaining. For the publike weale of the Iland there are sundry Aldermen of great authority, who have a councell house by themselves. The city is not onely beautifull, but the citizens curious and gallant in apparell. And after any raine or foule weather a man may goe cleane in Velvet slippers, because the ground is sandy, the aire very temperate, without extreame heat or colde. *Civitas Palmarum.*

They reape wheat in February, and againe in May, which is excellent good, and maketh bread as white as snow. This Iland hath in it other three townes, the one called Telde, the second Galder, and the third Guia. It hath also twelve sugar houses called Ingenios, in which they make great quantity of good sugar.

The planting and growth of sugar canes.

The maner of the growth of sugar is in this sort, a good ground giveth foorth fruit nine times in 18 yere: that is to say, the first is called Planta, which is layd along in a furrow, so that the water of a sluce may come over every roote being covered with earth: this root bringeth foorth sundry canes, and so consequently all the rest. It groweth two yeeres before the yeelding of profit, and not sixe moneths, as Andrew Thevet the French man writeth.

The making of sugar.

Then are they cut even with the ground, and the tops & leaves called Coholia cut off, and the canes bound into bundels like faggots, and so are caried to the sugar house called Ingenio, where they are ground in a mill, and the juyce thereof conveyed by a conduct to a great vessell made for the purpose, where it is boiled till it waxe thicke, and then is it put into a fornace of earthen pots of the molde of a sugar loafe, and then is it carried to another house, called a purging house where it is placed to purge the blacknesse with a certaine clay that is layd thereon. Of the remainder in the cauldron is made a second sort called Escumas, and of the purging liquor that droppeth from the white sugar is made a third sort, and the remainder is called Panela or Netas, the refuse of all the purging is called Remiel or Malasses: and thereof is made another sort called Refinado.

When this first fruit is in this sort gathered, called Planta, then the Cane-field where it grew is burned over with sugar straw to the stumps of the first canes, and being husbanded, watred and trimmed, at the end of other two yeeres it yeeldeth the second fruit called Zoca. The third fruit is called Tertia Zoca, the fourth Quarta Zoca, and so orderly the rest, til age causeth the olde Canes to be planted againe.

Wine.

This Iland hath singular good wine, especially in the towne of Telde, and sundry sorts of good fruits, as Batatas, Mellons, Peares, Apples, Orenges, Limons, Pomgranats, Figs, Peaches of divers sorts, and many other fruits: but especially the Plantano which groweth

neere brooke sides, it is a tree that hath no timber in it, but groweth directly upward with the body, having marvelous thicke leaves, and every leafe at the toppe of two yards long and almost halfe a yard broad. The tree never yeeldeth fruit but once, and then is cut downe; in whose place springeth another, and so still continueth. The fruit groweth on a branch, and every tree yeeldeth two or three of those branches, which beare some more and some lesse, as some forty and some thirty, the fruit is like a Cucumber, and when it is ripe it is blacke, and in eating more delicate then any conserve.

This Iland is sufficiently provided of Oxen, Kine, Camels, Goats, Sheepe, Capons, Hens, Ducks, and Pidgeons, and great Partridges. Wood is the thing that most wanteth: and because I have particularly to [II. ii. 5.] intreat of the other sixe Ilands, I leave further inlarging of Canaria, which standeth in 27 degrees distant from the Equator.

The Ile of Tenerif.

THe Iland of Tenerif standeth in 27 degrees and a halfe from the equator, and is distant from Canaria 12 leagues Northward. This Iland containeth 17 leagues in length, and the land lieth high in forme of a ridge of sowen lande in some part of England, and in the midst of the sayd place standeth a round hill called Pico Deteithe, situated in this sort. The top of this pike conteineth of heigth directly upward 15 leagues & more, which is 45 English miles, out of the which often times proceedeth fire and brimstone, and it may be about halfe a mile in compasse: the sayd top is in forme or likenesse of a caldron. But within two miles of the top is nothing but ashes & pumish stones: yet beneath that two miles is the colde region covered all the yere with snow, and somwhat lower are mighty huge trees growing, called Vinatico, which are exceeding heavy, and will not rot in any water, although they lie a thousand

yeeres therein. Also there is a wood called Barbusano, of like vertue, with many Savine trees and Pine trees. And beneath these sorts of trees are woods of Bay trees of 10 & 12 miles long, which is a pleasant thing to travell thorow, among the which are great numbers of small birds, which sing exceeding sweet, but especially one sort that are very litle, and of colour in all respects like a Swallow, saving that he hath a little blacke spot on his breast as broad as a peny. He singeth more sweetly then all the rest, but if he be taken and imprisoned in a cage, he liveth but a small while. This Iland bringeth foorth all sorts of fruits, as Canaria doth: and also all the other Ilands in generall bring foorth shrubs or bushes, out of the which issueth a juice as white as milke, which after a while that it hath come out waxeth thicke, and is exceeding good birdlime, the bush is called Taybayba. This Iland also bringeth foorth another tree called Drago, which groweth on high among rocks, and by incision at the foot of the tree issueth out a liquor like blood, which is a common drug among Apothecaries. Of the wood of this tree are made targets greatly esteemed, because if any sword or dagger hit thereon, they sticke so fast that it is hard plucking them out.

Lime.

This is the most fruitfull Iland of all the rest for corne, and in that respect is a mother or nurse to all the others in time of need. There groweth also a certaine mosse upon the high rocks called Orchel, which is bought for Diars to die withall. There are 12 sugar houses called Ingenios, which make great quantity of sugar. There is also one league of ground which standeth between two townes, the one called Larotava, and the other Rialeio, and it is thought that the like plot of ground is not in all the world. The reason is, that this one league of ground produceth sweet water out of the cliffes or rocky mountaines, corne of all sortes, fruites of all sortes, and excellent good silke, flaxe, waxe, and hony, and very good wines in abundance, with great

Orchel good for dying.

store of sugar and fire-wood. Out of this Iland is laden great quantity of wines for the West India, and other countreys. The best groweth on a hill side called the Ramble.

There is in that Iland a faire city, standing three leagues from the sea, nere unto a lake called Laguna, wherein are two faire parish churches, there dwelleth the governour who ruleth all that Iland with justice. There are also aldermen for the publike weale, who buy their offices of the king: the most of the whole inhabitants of this city are gentlemen, merchants, and husband men.

There are other foure townes called Santa Cruz, Larotava, Rialeio, and Garachico. *Santa Cruz.*

In this Iland before the conquest dwelt seven kings, who with all their people dwelt in caves, and were clothed in goat skinnes, as the Canaria people were, and used such like order of diet as they had. Their order of buriall was, that when any died, he was carried naked to a great cave, where he was propped up against the wall standing on his feet. But if he were of any authority among them, then had he a staffe in his hand, and a vessell of milke standing by him. I have seene caves of 300 of these corpses together, the flesh being dried up, the body remained as light as parchment. These people were called Guanches, naturally they spake another language cleane contrary to the Canarians, and so consequently every Iland spake a severall language.

Note (gentle reader) that the Iland of Canaria, the Ile of Tenerif, and the Ile of Palma appertaine to the king of Spaine, unto whom they pay fifty thousand duckats yeerely for custome and other profits. All these Ilands joyntly are one bishopricke, which pay to the bishop twelve thousand duckats yeerely. And thus I conclude of the Ile of Tenerif, which standeth in 27 degrees and a halfe, as I have before declared.

[Gomera

Gomera.

THe Iland of Gomera standeth Westward from Tenerif, in distance sixe leagues: this is but a small Iland conteining eight leagues in length. It is an [II. ii. 6.] Earledome, & the Lord thereof is called the earle of Gomera. But in case of any controversie the vassals may appeale to the kings superior Judges which reside in Canaria.

This Iland hath one proper towne called Gomera, which hath an excellent good port or harbour for ships, where often times the Indian fleet take refreshing for their voyage.

There is also sufficient graine and fruit for the maintenance of themselves.

There is one Ingenio or Sugar-house, with great plenty of wine and other sorts of fruits, as Canaria and Tenerif hath.

This Iland yeeldeth no other commodity but onely orchell; it standeth in 27 degrees distant from the Equator toward the pole Arcticke.

The Ile of Palma.

THe Ile of Palma standeth twelve leagues distant from the Ile of Gomera Northwestward. This Iland is fruitfull of wine and sugar: it hath a proper city called the city of Palma, where is great contraction for wines, which are laden for the West India & other places. This city hath one faire church, and a governour, and aldermen to maintaine and execute justice. It hath also another prety towne, called S. Andrewes. It hath also foure Ingenios which make excellent sugar, two of the which are called Zauzes, and the other two, Tassacort.

This Iland yeeldeth but little bread-corne; but rather is thereof provided from Tenerif and other places.

Their best wines grow in a soile called the Brenia, where yerely is gathered twelve thousand buts of wine

like unto Malmsies. This Iland standeth round, and containeth in circuit neere five and twenty leagues. It hath plenty of all sorts of fruits, as Canaria and Tenerif have, it standeth in twenty seven degrees and a halfe.

The Iland of Yron, called Hierro.

THis Iland standeth ten leagues distant from the Iland of Palma Westward: it is but a little Iland, which containeth sixe leagues in circuit, and hath but small extension. It appertaineth to the earle of Gomera. The chiefest commodity of this Iland is goats flesh and orchell. There is no wine in all that Iland, but onely one vineyard that an English man of Taunton in the West countrey planted among rocks, his name was John Hill.

The onely vineyard in Hierro planted by Joh. Hill of Taunton.

This Iland hath no kind of fresh water, but onely in the middle of the Iland groweth a great tree with leaves like an Olive tree, which hath a great cisterne at the foot of the sayd tree. This tree continually is covered with clouds, and by meanes thereof the leaves of the sayd tree continually drop water, very sweet, into the sayd cisterne, which commeth to the sayd tree from the clouds by attraction. And this water sufficeth the Iland for all necessities, aswell for the cattell, as for the inhabitants. It standeth in 27 degrees.

The Iland of Lanzarota.

THe Iland of Lanzarota standeth eighteene leagues distant from grand Canaria Southeastward. The onely commodity of this Iland is goats flesh and orchell. It is an earledome, and doth appertaine to Don Augustine de Herrera, with title of earle of Fortaventura and Lanzarota. But the vassals of these earledomes may in any cause of wrong appeale to the Kings Judges, which reside in Canaria, as I have sayd before: because although the king hath reserved to himselfe but onely the three fruitful Ilands, called Canaria, Tenerif, and Palma, yet he also reserved the rod of justice to him-

selfe, because otherwise the vassals might be evill intreated of their Lords.

From this Iland do weekly resort to Canaria, Tenerif, & Palma, boats laden with dried goats flesh, called Tussmetta, which serveth in stead of bacon, and is very good meat. This Iland standeth in 26 degrees, and is in length twelve leagues.

The Ile of Forteventura.

THe Ile of Forteventura standeth fifty leagues from the promontory of Cabo de Guer, in the firme land of Africa, and foure & twenty leagues distant from Canaria Estward. This Iland doth appertaine to the lord of Lanzarota. It is reasonable fruitfull of wheat and barley, and also of kine, goats, and orchel: this Ile is fifteene leagues long and ten leagues broad. On the North side it hath a little Iland about one league distant from the maine Iland, betweene both of the which it is navigable for any ships, and is called Graciosa.

Both Forteventura and Lanzarota have very little wine of the growth of those Ilands. It standeth in 27 degrees.

[II. ii. 7.] Thus much have I written of these seven Ilands by experience, because I was a dweller there, as I have sayd before, the space of seven yeeres in the affaires of master Thomas Locke, master Anthonie Hickman, and master Edward Castelin, who in those dayes were worthy merchants, and of great credite in the citie of London.

A description of the Iland of Madera.

THe Iland of Madera standeth in 32 degrees distant from the equinoctinall line, and seventie leagues from the Ile of Tenerif Northeastward and Southwest from Hercules pillars. This Iland was first discovered by one Macham an Englishman, and was after conquered and inhabited by the Portugall nation. It was first called the Iland of Madera, by reason of the great wildernesse of sundry sortes of trees that there did

growe, and yet doe, as Cedars, Cypres, Vinatico, Barbuzano, Pine trees, and divers others, and therefore the sayd Iland continueth still with the same name. Howbeit they hold opinion, that betweene the sayd Iland and the Ile of Palma is an Iland not yet discovered, which is the true Iland Madera called saint Brandon. This Iland yeeldeth a great summe of money to the king of Portugall yeerely: it hath one faire citie called Fouchall, which hath one faire port or harbour for shippes, and a strong bulwarke, and a faire Cathedrall church, with a bishop and other dignities thereunto appertaining. There is also justice and government according to the Portugall use. But causes of appellation are remitted to the citie of Lisbone in Portugall to the kings superior judges there. This Iland hath another towne called Machico, which hath likewise a good road for ships, which towne and road were so called after the name of Macham the Englishman, who first discovered the same. There are also sixteene sugar houses called Ingenios, which make excellent good sugar.

There is besides the goodly timber before declared, great store of divers sortes of fruites, as Peares, Apples, Plummes, wild Dates, Peaches of divers sortes, Mellons, Batatas, Orenges, Lemmons, Pomgranates, Citrons, Figges, and all maner of garden herbes. There are many Dragon trees, such as grow in the Canarie Ilands, but chiefly this land produceth great quantitie of singular good wines which are laden for many places. On the North side of this land three leagues distant from the maine Iland standeth another litle Iland called Porto santo: the people thereof liveth by husbandrie, for the Iland of Madera yeeldeth but litle corne, but rather is thereof provided out of France and from the Iland of Tenerif. On the East side of the Ile of Madera sixe leagues distant standeth another litle Iland called the Desert, which produceth onely Orchell, and nourisheth a great number of Goates, for the provision of the maine Iland, which may be thirtie leagues in circuit: and the land is of great

heigth where the foresayd trees growe. It is woonder to see the conveyance of the water to the Ingenios by Mines through the mountaines.

In the mid way betweene Tenerif and the Iland of Madera standeth a litle solitarie Iland called the Salvages, which may bee about one league in compasse, which hath neither tree nor fruit, but is onely food for Goates.

The originall of the first voyage for traffique into the kingdom of Marocco in Barbarie, begun in the yeere 1551. with a tall ship called the Lion of London, whereof went as captaine Master Thomas Windam, as appeareth by this extract of a letter of James Aldaie, to the worshipfull master Michael Locke, which Aldaie professeth himselfe to have bene the first inventer of this trade.

WOrshipful Sir, having lately bene acquainted with your intent to prosecute the olde intermitted discoverie for Catai, if therein with my knowledge, travell or industrie I may doe you service, I am readie to doe it, and therein to adventure my life to the uttermost point. Trueth it is, that I have bene by some men (not my friends) evill spoken of at London, saying that although I be a man of knowledge in the Arte of Navigation and Cosmographie, and that I have bene the inventer of some voyages that be now growen to great effect; yet say they maliciously and without just cause, that I have not bene willing at any season to proceed in those voyages that I have taken in hand, taking example especially of two voyages. The one was when I was master in the great Barke Aucher for the Levant, in which voyage I went not, but the causes they did not know of my let from the same, nor of the other. But first the very

trueth is, that I was from the same voyage letted by the Princes letters, which my Master Sebastian Gabota had obtained for that purpose, to my great griefe. And as touching the second voyage which I invented for the trade of Barbarie, the living God knoweth that I say most true, that when the great sweate was, (whereon the chiefe of those with whom I joyned in that voyage died, that is to say, Sir John Lutterell, John Fletcher, Henry Ostrich and others) I my selfe was also taken with the same sweate in London, and after it, whether with evill diet in keeping, or how I know not, I was cast into such an extreame fever, as I was neither able to ride nor goe: and the shippe being at Portesmouth, Thomas Windam had her away from thence, before I was able to stand upon my legges, by whom I lost at that instant fourescore pound. Besides I was appointed by them that died (if they had lived) to have had the whole government both of shippe and goods, because I was to them the sole inventer of that trade. [II. ii. 8.]

In the first voyage to Barbary there were two Moores, being noble men, whereof one was of the Kings blood, convayed by the said Master Thomas Windham into their Countrey out of England.

Yours humble at your commandement,

James Alday.

[The second

The second voyage to Barbary in the yeere 1552. Set foorth by the right worshipfull Sir John Yorke, Sir William Gerard, Sir Thomas Wroth, Master Frances Lambert, Master Cole, and others; Written by the relation of Master James Thomas then Page to Master Thomas Windham chiefe Captaine of this voyage.

THe shippes that went on this voyage were three, whereof two were of the River of Thames, That is to say, the Lyon of London, whereof Master Thomas Windham was Captaine and part owner, of about an hundred & fiftie tunnes: The other was the Buttolfe about fourescore tunnes, and a Portugall Caravel bought of certaine Portugals in Newport in Wales, and fraighted for this voyage, of summe sixtie tunnes. The number of men in the Fleete were an hundred and twentie. The Master of the Lyon was one John Kerry of Mynhed in Somersetshire, his Mate was David Landman. The chiefe Captaine of this small Fleete was Master Thomas Windham a Norffolke gentleman borne, but dwelling at Marshfield-parke in Somerset shire. This Fleete departed out of King-rode neere Bristoll about the beginning of May 1552. being on a Munday in the morning: and the Munday fortnight next ensuing in the evening came to an ancker at their first port in the *Asafi.* roade of Zafia, or Asafi on the coast of Barbarie, standing in 32. degrees of latitude, and there put on land part of our marchandise to be conveied by land to the citie of Marocco: which being done, and having refreshed our selves with victuals and water, we went to *Santa Cruz.* the second port called Santa Cruz, where we discharged the rest of our goods, being good quantitie of linnen and woollen cloth, corall, amber, Jet, and divers other things well accepted by the Moores. In which road we

found a French ship, which not knowing whether it were warre or peace betweene England and France, drewe her selfe as neere under the towne wals as she could possible, craving aide of the towne for her defence, if need were, which in deed seeing us draw neere, shot at us a piece from the wals, which came over the Lion our Admirall, between the maine mast & her foremast. Whereupon we comming to an anker, presently came a pinnes aboord us to know what we were, who understanding that we had bene there the yere before, & came with the good leave of their king in marchant wise, were fully satisfied, and gave us good leave to bring our goods peaceably on shore, where the Viceroy, whose name was Sibill Manache, within short time after came to visite us, and used us with all curtesie. But by divers occasions we spent here very neere three moneths before we could get in our lading, which was Sugar, Dates, Almonds, and Malassos or sugar Syrrope. And for all our being here in the heate of the Sommer, yet none of our company perished by sicknesse. Our ships being laden, wee drew into the Sea for a Westerne wind for England. But being at sea, a great leake fell upon the Lion, so that we were driven to Lancerota, and Forteventura, where, betweene the two Ilands, we came to a road, whence wee put on land out of our sayd ship 70. chestes of Sugar upon Lancerota, with some dozen or sixteene of our company, where the inhabitants supposing we had made a wrongfull prize of our caravell, suddenly came with force upon our people, among whom I my selfe was one, tooke us prisoners, and spoiled the sugars: which thing being perceived from our ships, they manned out three boates, thinking to rescue us, and drave the Spaniards to flight, whereof they slew eighteene, and tooke their governour of the Iland prisoner, who was a very aged gentleman about 70. yeeres of age. But chasing the enemie so farre, for our recoverie, as pouder and arrowes wanted, the Spaniardes perceiving this, returned, and in our mens retire they slew sixe of them.

The English were at Santa Cruz the yeere before being 1551.

[II. ii. 9.]

Then a Parle grew, in the which it was agreed, that we the prisoners should be by them restored, and they receive their olde governour, giving us a testimonie under his and their hands, what damages wee had there received, the which damages were here restored, and made good by the king of Spaine his marchants upon our returne into England. After wee had searched and mended our leake, being returned aboord, we came under saile, and as wee were going to the sea on the one side of the Iland, the Cacafuego and other ships of the king of Portugals Armada entered at the other, and came to anker in the road from whence we were but newly departed, and shot off their great ordinance in our hearing. And here by the way it is to bee understood that the Portugals were much offended with this our new trade into Barbarie, and both in our voiage the yeere before, as also in this they gave out in England by their marchants, that if they tooke us in those partes, they would use us as their mortall enemies, with great threates and menaces. But by God and good providence wee escaped their handes. From this Iland shaping our course for England, we were seven or eight weekes before we could reach the coast of England. The first port wee entered into was the haven of Plimmouth, from whence within short time wee came into the Thames, and landed our marchandise at London, about the ende of the moneth of October, 1552.

A voiage made out of England unto Guinea and Benin in Affrike, at the charges of certaine marchants Adventurers of the Citie of London, in the yeere of our Lord 1553.



Was desired by certaine of my friends to make some mention of this Voiage, that some memorie thereof might remaine to our posteritie, if either iniquitie of time consuming all things, or ignorance creeping in by barbarousnesse and contempt of knowledge should hereafter bury in oblivion so woorthie attempts, so much the greatlier to bee esteemed, as before never enterprised by Englishmen, or at the least so frequented, as at this present they are, and may bee, to the great commoditie of our marchants, if the same be not hindered by the ambition of such, as for the conquering of fortie or fiftie miles here and there, and erecting of certaine fortresses, thinke to be Lordes of halfe the world, envying that other should enjoy the commodities, which they themselves cannot wholy possesse. And although such as have bene at charges in the discovering and conquering of such landes ought by good reason to have certaine privileges, preheminences, and tributes for the same, yet (to speake under correction) it may seeme somewhat rigorous, and agaynst good reason and conscience, or rather agaynst the charitie that ought to be among Christian men, that such as invade the dominions of other should not permit other friendly to use the trade of marchandise in places neerer, or seldome frequented of them, whereby their trade is not hindered in such places, where they themselves have at their owne election appointed the Martes of their traffike. But forasmuch as at this present it is not my intent to accuse or defend, approove or improove, I will cease to speake any further hereof, and proceed to the description of the first voyage, as briefly and faithfully as I

was advertised of the same, by the information of such credible persons, as made diligent inquisition to know the trueth thereof, as much as shall be requisite, omitting to speake of many particular things, not greatly necessarie to be knowen: which neverthelesse, with also the exact course of the navigation, shall be more fully declared in the second voiage. And if herein favour or friendship shall perhaps cause some to thinke that some have bene sharply touched, let them lay apart favour and friendship, and give place to trueth, that honest men may receive prayse for well doing, and lewd persons reproch, as the just stipend of their evill desertes, whereby other may be deterred to doe the like, and vertuous men encouraged to proceed in honest attempts.

But that these voyages may be more plainly understood of all men, I have thought good for this purpose, before I intreat hereof, to make a briefe description of Africa, being that great part of the world, on whose West side beginneth the coast of Guinea at Cabo Verde, about twelve degrees in latitude, on this side the Equinoctiall
[II. ii. 10.] line, and two degrees in longitude from the measuring line, so running from the North to the South, and by East in some places, within 5, 4, and 3 degrees and a halfe unto the Equinoctiall, and so foorth in maner directly East and by North, for the space of 36 degrees or thereabout, in longitude from the West to the East, as shall more plainly appeare in the description of the second voyage.

A briefe description of Afrike gathered by Richard Eden.

IN Africa the lesse are these kingdoms: the kingdom of Tunis and Constantina, which is at this day under Tunis, and also the region of Bugia, Tripoli, and Ezzah. This part of Afrike is very barren by reason of the great deserts, as the deserts of Numidia and Barca. The principall ports

Tunis.
Bugia.
Tripoli.
Numidia.

of the kingdome of Tunis are these: Goletta, Bizerta, Potofarnia, Bona, and Stora. The chiefe cities of Tunis are Constantina and Bona, with divers other. Under this kingdom are many Ilands, as Zerbi, Lampadola, Pantalarea, Limoso, Beit, Gamelaro, and Malta, where at this present is the great master of the Rhodes. Under the South of this kingdom are the great deserts of Lybia. All the nations in this Africa the lesse are of the sect of Mahomet, and a rusticall people, living scattred in villages. The best of this part of Afrike is Barbaria lying on the coast of the sea Mediterraneum.

Ilands of Tunis. Malta.

The deserts of Lybia.

Barbarie.

Mauritania (now called Barbaria) is divided into two parts, as Mauritania Tingitana, and Cæsariensis. Mauritania Tingitana is now called the kingdom of Fes, and the kingdom of Marocco. The principall citie of Fes is called Fessa: and the chiefe citie of Marocco is named Marocco.

Mauritania.

The kingdom of Fes & Marocco.

Mauritania Cæsariensis is at this day called the kingdom of Tremisen, with also the citie called Tremisen or Telensin. This region is full of deserts, and reacheth to the Sea Mediterraneum, to the citie of Oram, with the port of Mersalquiber. The kingdom of Fes reacheth unto the Ocean Sea, from the West to the citie of Argilla: and the port of the sayd kingdom is called Sala.

Tremisen.

Oram.

Mersalquiber.

Sala.

The kingdom of Marocco is also extended above the Ocean Sea, unto the citie of Azamor and Azafi, which are upon the Ocean Sea, toward the West of the sayd kingdom. Nere Mauritania Tingitana (that is to say, by the two kingdoms of Fes, and Marocco) are in the Sea, the Ilands of Canarie, called in old time, The fortunate Ilands. Toward the South of this region is the kingdom of Guinea, with Senega, Jalofo, Gambra, and many other regions of the Blacke Moores, called Aethiopians or Negros, all which are watered with the river Negro called in old time Niger. In the sayd regions are no cities, but onely certaine lowe cottages made of boughes

Azamor.

The Ilands of Canaria.

Guinea.

Aethiopians.

of trees, plastered with chalke, and covered with strawe. In these regions are also very great deserts.

Marocco. The kingdom of Marocco hath under it these seven kingdoms: Hea, Sus, Guzula, the territorie of Marrocco, *Fes.* Duccala, Hazchora, and Tedle. The kingdom of Fes hath as many: as Fes, Temesne, Azgar, Elabath, Errif, *Tremisen.* Garet, and Elcair. The kingdom of Tremisen hath these regions: Tremisen, Tenez, and Elgazair, all which are *Guinea.* Machometists. But all the regions of Guinea are pure Gentiles, and idolatrous, without profession of any religion, or other knowledge of God, then by the law of nature.

Africa ye great. Africa the great is one of the three parts of the world, knowen in old time, and severed from Asia, on the East by the river Nilus, on the West from Europe by the pillars of Hercules. The hither part is now called Barbarie, and the people Moores. The inner part is *Africa the lesse.* called Lybia and Aethiopia. Afrike the lesse is in this wise bounded. On the West it hath Numidia; On the East Cyrenaica: On the North, the sea called Mediterraneum. In this countrey was the noble city of *Carthage.* Carthage.

In the East side of Afrike beneath the red sea, dwelleth the great and mighty Emperour and Christian king *Prester John.* Prester John, well knowen to the Portugales in their voyages to Calicut. His dominions reach very farre on every side: and hath under him many other Kings both christian and heathen that pay him tribute. This mightie prince is called David the Emperour of Aethiopia. Some write that the king of Portugall sendeth him yeerely eight ships laden with marchandize. His kingdom confineth with the red Sea, and reacheth far into Afrike toward Aegypt and Barbarie. Southward it confineth *Cape de Bona Speranza.* with the Sea toward the Cape de Bona Speranza: and on the other side with the sea of sand, called Mare de Sabione, a very dangerous sea lying between ye great *Alcair.* citie of Alcair, or Cairo in Aegypt, and the country of [II. ii. 11.] Aethiopia: In the which way are many unhabitable

deserts, continuing for the space of five dayes journey. And they affirme, that if the sayd Christian Emperor were not hindered by those deserts (in the which is great lacke of victuals, & especially of water) he would or now have invaded the kingdom of Egypt, and the citie of Alcair. The chiefe city of Ethiopia, where this great emperor is resident, is called Amacaiz, being a faire citie, *Amacaiz.* whose inhabitants are of the colour of an Olive. There are also many other cities, as the city of Sava upon the river of Nilus, where the Emperour is accustomed to remaine in the Sommer season. There is likewise a great city named Barbaregaf, and Ascon, from whence *From whence the Queene of Saba came.* it is said that the Queene of Saba came to Hierusalem to heare the wisedom of Salomon. This citie is but litle, yet very faire, and one of the chiefe cities in Ethiope. In this province are many exceeding high mountains, upon the which is said to be the earthly paradise: and some *The earthly Paradise.* say that there are the trees of the Sunne and Moone, *The trees of the Sunne and the Moone.* whereof the antiquitie maketh mention: yet that none can passe thither by reason of great deserts of an hundred daies journey. Also beyond these mountains is the Cape of Bona Speranza. And to have said thus much of Afrike it may suffice.

The first voiage to Guinea and Benin.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1553. the twelfth day of August, sailed from Portsmouth two goodly ships, the Primerose and the Lion, with a pinnas called the Moone, being all well furnished aswell with men of the lustiest sort, to the number of seven score, as also with ordinance and victuals requisite to such a voiage: having also two captaines, the one a stranger called Anthonie Anes Pin- *Pinteado.* teado, a Portugall, borne in a towne named The Port of Portugall, a wise, discreet, and sober man, who for his cunning in sailing, being as well an expert Pilot as a politike captaine, was sometime in great favour with

Brasile. Guinea. the king of Portugall, and to whom the coasts of Brasile and Guinea were committed to be kept from the Frenchmen, to whom he was a terrour on the Sea in those parts, and was furthermore a gentleman of the king his masters house. But as fortune in maner never favoureth but flattereth, never promiseth but deceiveth, never raiseth but casteth downe againe: and as great wealth & favour have alwaies companions, emulation and envie, he was after many adversities & quarels made against him, inforced to come into England: where in this golden voyage he was evil matched with an unequal companion, and unlike match of most sundry qualities & conditions, with vertues few or none adorned. Thus departed these noble ships under saile on their voyage: But first captaine Windam putting forth of his ship at Portsmouth a kinsman of one of the head marchants, and shewing herein a muster of the tragicall partes hee had conceived in his braine, and with such small beginnings nourished so monstrous a birth, that more happy, yea and blessed was that yong man being left behind, then if he had bene taken with them, as some do wish he had done the like by theirs. Thus sailed they on their voyage, untill they *The Ilands of Madera.* came to the Iland of Madera, where they tooke in certaine wines for the store of their ships, and paid for them as they agreed of the price. At these Ilands they met with a great Galion of the king of Portugall, full of men and ordinance: yet such as could not have prevailed if it had attempted to withstand or resist our ships, for the which cause it was set foorth, not onely to let and interrupt these our shippes of their purposed voiage, but al other that should attempt the like: yet chiefly to frustrate our voiage. For the king of Portugall was sinisterly informed, that our ships were armed to his *The castle of Mina.* castle of Mina in those parties, whereas nothing lesse was ment.

After that our ships departed from the Iland of Madera forward on their voiage, began this worthy captaine Pinteados sorow, as a man tormented with the

company of a terrible Hydra, who hitherto flattred with him, & made him a faire countenance and shew of love. Then did he take upon him to command all alone, setting nought both by captain Pinteado, and the rest of the marchants factors, sometimes with opprobrious words, and somtimes with threatnings most shamfully abusing them, taking from Pinteado the service of the boies and certain mariners that were assigned him by the order and direction of the worshipful merchants, and leaving him as a common mariner, which is the greatest despite and grief that can be to a Portugale or Spaniard, to be diminished of their honor, which they esteem above all riches. Thus sailing forward on their voiage, they came to the Ilands of Canarie, continuing their course from thence until they arrived at the Iland of S. Nicholas, where they victualled themselves with fresh meat, of the flesh of wild goats, whereof is great plenty in that Iland, & in maner of nothing els. From hence folowing on their course and tarying here & there at the desert Ilands in the way, because they would not come too timely to the countrey of Guinea for the heat, and tarying somwhat too long (for what can be well ministred in a common wealth, where inequalitie with tyrannie wil rule alone) they came at the length to the first land of the country of Guinea, where they fel with the great river of Sesto, where they might for their marchandizes have laden their ships with the graines of that countrey, which is a very hote fruit, and much like unto a fig as it groweth on the tree. For as the figs are full of small seeds, so is the said fruit full of graines, which are loose within the cod, having in the mids thereof a hole on every side. This kind of spice is much used in cold countries, & may there be sold for great advantage, for exchange of other wares. But our men, by the perswasion or rather inforcement of this tragicall captaine, not regarding and setting light by that commoditie, in comparison of ye fine gold they thirsted, sailed an hundred leagues further, until they came to the golden land: where not attempting to

The Ilands of Canarie.

The Iland of S. Nicholas.

The river of Sesto.

[II. ii. 12.]

Graines.

The thirst of gold.

The castle of Mina. come neere the castle pertaining to the king of Portugall, which was within the river of Mina, they made sale of their ware only on this side & beyond it, for the gold of *The quantitie of gold.* that country, to the quantitie of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight, there being in case that they might have dispatched all their ware for gold, if the untame braine of Windam had, or could have given eare to the counsell and experience of Pinteado. For when that Windam not satisfied with the gold which he had, and more might have had if he had taried about the Mina, commanding the said Pinteado (for so he tooke upon him) to lead the ships to Benin, being under the Equinoctial line, and an hundred and fifty leagues beyond the Mina, where he looked to have their ships laden with pepper: and being counselled of the said Pinteado, considering the late time of the yeere, for that time to go no further, but to make sale of their wares such as they had for gold, wherby they might have bene great gainers: Windam not assenting *Furie admitteth no counsel.* hereunto, fell into a sudden rage, reviling the sayd Pinteado, calling him Jew, with other opprobrious words, saying, This whoreson Jew hath promised to bring us to such places as are not, or as he cannot bring us unto: but if he do not, I will cut off his eares and naile them to the maste. Pinteado gave the foresaid counsell to go no further for the safegard of the men and their lives, which they should put in danger if they came too late, for the *The Rossia.* Rossia which is their Winter, not for cold, but for smothering heate, with close and cloudie aire and storming weather, of such putrifying qualitie, that it rotted the coates of their backs: or els for comming to soone for *Rotting heat.* the scorching heat of the sunne, which caused them to linger in the way. But of force and not of will brought *Benin.* he the ships before the river of Benin, where riding at an Anker, they sent their pinnas up into the river 50 or 60 leagues, from whence certaine of the marchants with *Francisco. Nich. Lambart.* captaine Pinteado, Francisco a Portugale, Nicholas Lambart gentleman, and other marchants were conducted to the court where the king remained, ten leagues from the

river side, whither when they came, they were brought with a great company to the presence of the king, who being a blacke Moore (although not so blacke as the rest) sate in a great huge hall, long and wide, the wals made of earth without windowes, the roofe of thin boords, open in sundry places, like unto lovers to let in the aire.

The king of Benin his court.

And here to speake of the great reverence they give to their king, it is such, that if we would give as much to our Savior Christ, we should remoove from our heads many plagues which we daily deserve for our contempt and impietie.

Reverence toward the king.

So it is therfore, that when his noble men are in his presence, they never looke him in the face, but sit cowring, as we upon our knees, so they upon their buttocks, with their elbowes upon their knees, and their hands before their faces, not looking up until the king command them. And when they are comming toward the king, as far as they do see him, they do shew such reverence, sitting on the ground with their faces covered as before. Likewise when they depart from him, they turn not their backs toward him, but goe creeping backward with like reverence.

And now to speake somewhat of the communication that was between the king and our men, you shall first understand that he himselfe could speake the Portugall tongue, which he had learned of a child. Therefore after he had commanded our men to stand up, and demanded of them the cause of their comming into that countrey, they answered by Pinteado, that they were marchants traveiling into those parties for the commodities of his countrey, for exchange of wares which they had brought from their countries, being such as should be no lesse commodious for him and his people. The king then having of old lying in a certaine store-house 30 or 40 kintals of Pepper (every kintall being an hundred weight) willed them to looke upon the same, and againe to bring him a sight of such merchandizes as they had brought with them. And thereupon sent with the captaine and

The communication between the king of Benin and our men.

Pepper.

the marchants certaine of his men to conduct them to the waters side, with other to bring the ware from the pinnas to the court. Who when they were returned, and the wares seen, the king grew to this ende with the merchants to provide in 30 dayes the lading of al their ships with pepper. And in case their merchandizes would not extend to the value of so much pepper, he promised to credite them to their next returne, and thereupon sent the country round about to gather pepper, causing the same to be brought to the court: So that within the space of 30 dayes they had gathered fourescore tunne of pepper.

The kings gentlenes towards our men.

In the meane season our men partly having no rule of themselves, but eating without measure of the fruits of the countrey, and drinking the wine of the Palme trees that droppeth in the night from the cut of the branches of the same, and in such extreme heate running continually into the water, not used before to such sudden and vehement alterations (then the which nothing is more dangerous) were thereby brought into swellings and agues: insomuch that the later time of the yeere comming on, caused them to die sometimes three & sometimes 4 or 5 in a day. Then Windam perceiving the time of the 30 daies to be expired, and his men dying so fast, sent to the court in post to Captaine Pinteado, & the rest to come away and to tary no longer. But Pinteado with the rest, wrote backe to him againe, certifying him of the great quantity of pepper they had alreadie gathered & looked daily for much more: desiring him furthermore to remember the great praise and name they should win, if they came home prosperously, and what shame of the contrary. With which answere Windam not satisfied, and many of their men dying dayly, willed and commaunded them againe either to come away forthwith, or els threatened to leave them behinde. When Pinteado heard this answere, thinking to perswade him with reason, hee tooke his way from the court toward the ships, being conducted thither with men by the kings commandement.

[II. ii. 13.]

In the meane season Windam all raging, brake up Pinteados Cabin, brake open his chestes, spoiled such provision of cold stilled waters and suckets as he had provided for his health, and left him nothing, neither of his instruments to saile by, nor yet of his apparell: and in the meane time falling sicke, himselfe died also. Whose death Pinteado comming aboord, lamented as much as if he had bene the deerest friend he had in the world. But certaine of the mariners and other officers did spit in his face, some calling him Jewe, saying that he had brought them thither to kill them: and some drawing their swords at him, making a shew to slay him. Then he perceiving that they would needs away, desired them to tary that he might fetch the rest of the marchants that were left at the court, but they would not grant this request. Then desired he them to give him the ship-boate, with as much of an old saile as might serve for the same, promising them therwith to bring Nicholas Lambert and the rest into England, but all was in vaine. Then wrote he a letter to the court to the marchants, informing them of all the matter, and promising them if God would lend him life to returne with all haste to fetch them. And thus was Pinteado kept ashipboord against his will, thrust among the boyes of the ship, not used like a man, nor yet like an honest boy, but glad to find favour at the cookes hand. Then departed they, leaving one of their ships behind them, which they sunke for lacke of men to cary her. After this, within 6 or 7 dayes sayling, dyed also Pinteado for very pensivenesse & thought that stroke him to the heart. A man worthy to serve any prince, and most vilely used. And of sevenscore men came home to Plimmouth scarcely forty, and of them many died. And that no man should suspect these words which I have saide in commendation of Pinteado, to be spoken upon favour otherwise then trueth, I have thought good to adde hereunto the copie of the letters which the king of Portugall and the infant his brother wrote unto him to reconcile him, at such

The death of Windam.

Pinteado evill used of the mariners.

This Lambert was a Londiner borne, whose father had bin Lord Maior of London.

The death of Pinteado.

time as upon the king his masters displeasure (and not for any other crime or offence, as may appeare by the said letters) he was only for povertie inforced to come into England, where he first perswaded our marchants to attempt the said voyages to Guinea. But as the king of Portugall too late repented him that he had so punished Pinteado, upon malicious informations of such as envied the mans good fortune: even so may it hereby appeare that in some cases even Lions themselves may either be hindered by the contempt, or aided by the help of the poore mise, according unto the fable of Esope.

Pinteado first perswaded our men to the voiage of Guinea.

The copie of Anthonie Anes Pinteado his letters patents, whereby the king of Portugall made him knight of his house, after all his troubles and imprisonment, which, by wrong information made to the king, he had susteined of long time, being at the last delivered, his cause knowen and manifested to the king by a gray Frier the kings Confessor.

THe king doe give you to understand lord Francis Desseaso, one of my counsell and overseer of my house, that in consideration of the good service which Anthony Anes Pinteado, the sonne of John Anes, dwelling in the towne called the Port, hath done unto me, my will and pleasure is, to make him knight of my house, allowing to him in pension seven hundred reis monethly, and every day one alcayre of barly, as long as he keepeth a horse, & to be paid according to the ordinance of my house. Providing alwaies that he shall receive but one marriage gift. And this also in such condition, that the time which is accepted in our ordinance, forbidding such men to marry for getting such children as might succeede them in this allowance, which is 6 yeres after the making of this patent, shalbe first expired before he do marry. I therfore command you to cause this to be entred in the booke called the

Seven hundred reis are ten shillings. Alcayre is halfe a bushell.

Matricula of our houshold, under the title of knights. And when it is so entred, let the clarke of the Matricula, [II. ii. 14.] for the certeintie therof, write on the backside of this Alvala, or patent, the number of the leafe wherein this our grant is entred. Which done, let him returne this writing unto the said Anthonie Anes Pinteado for his warrant.

I Diego Henriques have written this in Almarin the two and twentie day of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1551. And this benevolence the king gave unto Anthonie Anes Pinteado, the five and twentie day of July this present yeere.

Rey.

The Secretaries declaration written under the kings grant.

YOur Majestie hath vouchsafed, in respect and consideration of the good service of Anthony Anes Pinteado, dwelling in the port, and sonne of John Anes, to make him knight of your house, with ordinarie allowance, of seven hundred reis pension by the moneth, and one alcaire of barley by the day, as long as he keepeth a horse: and to be paide according to the ordinance of your house, with condition that hee shall have but one marriage gift: and that not within the space of sixe yeres after the making of these letters Patents. The Secretaries note. Entred in the booke of the Matricula. Fol. 683.

Francisco de Siquera.

The copie of the letter of Don Lewes the infant, and brother to the king of Portugall, sent into England to Anthonie Anes Pinteado.

ANthony Anes Pinteado, I the infant brother to the king, have me heartily commended unto you. Peter Gonsalves is gone to seeke you, desiring to bring you home again into your countrey. And for that purpose he hath with him a safe conduct for you, granted by the

king, that therby you may freely and without all feare come home. And although the weather be foule and stormie, yet faile not to come: for in the time that his Majestie hath given you, you may doe many things to your contentation and gratifying the king, whereof I would be right glad: and to bring the same to passe, I will do all that lieth in me for your profite. But forasmuch as Peter Gonsalves will make further declaration hereof unto you, I say no more at this present. Written in Lisbone, the eight day of December. Anno 1552.

The infant Don Lewes.

ALl these foresaid writings I saw under seale, in the house of my friend Nicholas Liese, with whom Pinteado left them, at his unfortunate departing to Guinea. But, notwithstanding all these friendly letters and faire promises, Pinteado durst not attempt to goe home, neither to keepe companie with the Portugals his countrey men, without the presence of other: forasmuch as he had secrete admonitions that they intended to slay him, if time and place might have served their wicked intent.

The second voyage to Guinea set out by Sir George Barne, Sir John Yorke, Thomas Lok, Anthonie Hickman and Edward Castelin, in the yere 1554. The Captaine whereof was M. John Lok.

AS in the first voiage I have declared rather the order of the history, then the course of the navigation, whereof at that time I could have no perfect information: so in the description of this second voyage, my chiefe intent hath beene to shew the course of the same, according to the observation and ordinarie custome of the mariners, and as I received it at the handes of an expert Pilot, being one of the chiefe in this voyage, who also with his owne

hands wrote a briefe declaration of the same, as he found and tried all things, not by conjecture, but by the art of sayling, and instruments perteining to the mariners facultie. Not therefore assuming to my selfe the commendations due unto other, neither so bold as in any part to change or otherwise dispose the order of this voyage so well observed by art and experience, I have thought good to set forth the same, in such sort and phrase of speech as is commonly used among them, and as I received it of the said Pilot, as I have said. Take it therefore as followeth.

In the yeere of our Lord 1554 the eleventh day of October, we departed the river of Thames with three [II. ii. 15.] goodly ships, the one called the Trinitie, a ship of the burden of seven-score tunne, the other called the Bartholomew, a ship of the burden of ninetie, the third was the John Evangelist, a ship of seven score tunne. With the sayd ships and two pinnesses (wherof the one was drowned on the coast of England) we went forward on our voyage, and stayed at Dover fourteene dayes. We staied also at Rie three or foure dayes. Moreover last of all we touched at Dartmouth.

Robert Gainsh was master of the John Evangelist.

The first day of November at nine of the clocke at night, departing from the coast of England, we set off the Start, bearing Southwest all that night in the sea, and the next day all day, and the next night after, untill the third day of the said moneth about noone, making our way good, did runne threescore leagues.

The 17 day in the morning we had sight of the Ile of Madera, which doth rise to him that commeth in the Northnortheast part upright land in the west part of it, and very high: and to the Southsoutheast a low long land, and a long point, with a saddle thorow the middest of it, standing in two and thirtie degrees: and in the West part, many springs of water running downe from the mountaine, and many white fieldes like unto corne fields, & some white houses to the Southeast part of it: and the toppe of the mountaine sheweth very ragged,

The Ile of Madera.

if you may see it, and in the Northeast part there is a bight or bay as though it were a harborow: Also in the said part, there is a rocke a little distance from the shoare, and over the sayd bight you shall see a great gappe in the mountaine.

The Ile of Palmes. Teneriffa. The Canaries.

The 19 day at twelve of the clocke we had sight of the isle of Palmes and Teneriffa and the Canaries. The Ile of Palme riseth round, & lieth Southeast and Northwest, and the Northwest part is lowest. In the South is a round hill over the head land, and another round hill above that in the land. There are betweene the Southeast part of the Ile of Madera & the Northwest part of the Ile of Palme seven and fifty leagues. This Isle of Palme lieth in eight and twenty degrees. And

From Madera to the Isle of Palmes.

our course from Madera to the Ile of Palme was South and South and by West, so that we had sight of Teneriffa and of the Canaries. The Southeast part of the Ile of the Palme, & the Northnortheast of Teneriffa lie Southeast and Northwest, and betweene them are 20 leagues.

Gran Canaria. Forteventura. The Iland of Gomera.

Teneriffa and the great Canary called Gran Canaria, and the West part of Forteventura stande in seven and twenty degrees and a halfe. Gomera is a faire Island but very ragged, & lieth Westsouthwest off Teneriffa. And whosoever wil come betweene them two Ilands must come South and by East, and in the South part of Gomera is a towne and a good rode in the said part of the Iland: and it standeth in seven and twentie degrees

Teneriffa.

and three terces. Teneriffa is an high land, with a great high pike like a sugar loafe, and upon the said pike is

Snow.

snow throughout all the whole yeere. And by reason of that pike it may be knowen above all other Ilands, and there we were becalmed the twentieth day of November, from sixe of the clocke in the morning, untill foure of the clocke at afternoone.

The coast of Barbarie. Cape Blanke.

The two and twentieth day of November, under the Tropike of Cancer the Sunne goeth downe West and by South. Upon the coast of Barbarie five and twentie leagues by North Cape blanke, at three leagues off the

maine, there are fifteene fadomes and good shelly ground, and sande among and no streames, and two small Ilands standing in two and twentie degrees and a terce.

From Gomera to Cape de las Barbas is an hundred leagues, and our course was South and by East. The said Cape standeth in two and twentie and a halfe: and all that coast is flatte, sixteene or seventeene fadome deepe. Seven or eight leagues off from the river del Oro to Cape de las Barbas, there use many Spaniardes and Portugals to trade for fishing, during the moneth of November: and all that coast is very low lands. Also we went from Cape de las Barbas Southsouthwest, and Southwest and by South, till we brought our selves in twentie degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selves seven leagues off: and there were the least sholes of Cape Blanke. *The river del Oro.*

Then we went South untill we brought our selves in 13 degrees, reckoning our selves five and twentie leagues off. And in 15 degrees we did reare the Crossiers, and we might have reared them sooner if we had looked for them. They are not right a crosse in the moneth of November, by reason that the nights are short there. Neverthelesse we had the sight of them the 29 day of the said moneth at night. *The crossiers or crosse stars.*

The first of December, being in 13 degrees we set our course South and by East, untill the fourth day of December at 12 of the clocke the same day. Then we were in nine degrees and a terce, reckoning our selves 30 leagues off the sholes of the river called Rio Grande, being Westsouthwest off them, the which sholes be 30 leagues long. *Rio Grande.*

The fourth of December we beganne to set our course Southeast, we being in sixe degrees and a halfe.

The ninth day of December we set our course Eastsoutheast: the fourteenth day of the sayde moneth we set our course East, we being in five degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selves thirty and sixe leagues from the coast of Guinea. [II. ii. 16.]

The nineteenth of the said moneth we set our course East and by North, reckoning our selves seventeene leagues distant from Cape Mensurado, the said Cape being Eastnortheast of us, and the river of Sesto being East.

Cape Mensurado.
The river of Sesto.

The one and twentieth day of the said moneth, we fell with Cape Mensurado to the Southeast, about two leagues off. This Cape may be easily knowen, by reason y^t^ the rising of it is like a Porpose-head. Also toward the Southeast there are three trees, whereof the Eastermost tree is the highest, and the middlemost is like a hie stacke, & the Southermost like unto a gibet: and upon the maine are foure or five high hilles rising one after another like round hommocks or hillocks. And the Southeast of the three trees, brandiernwise: and all the coast along is white sand. The said Cape standeth within a litle in sixe degrees.

The two and twentieth of December we came to the river of Sesto, & remained there untill the nine and twentieth day of the said moneth. Here we thought it best to send before us the pinnesse to the river Dulce, called Rio Dulce, that they might have the beginning of the market before the comming of the John Evangelist.

The river of Sesto.
Rio Dulce.

At the river of Sesto we had a tunne of graines. This river standeth in sixe degrees, lacking a terce. From the river of Sesto to Rio Dulce are five and twentie leagues. Rio Dulce standeth in five degrees and a halfe. The river of Sesto is easie to be knowen, by reason there is a ledge of rockes on the Southeast part of the Rode. And at the entring into the haven are five or sixe trees that beare no leaves. This is a good harborow, but very narow at ye entrance into the river. There is also a rocke in the havens mouth right as you enter. And all that coast betweene Cape de Monte, and cape de las Palmas, lieth Southeast & by East, Northwest & by West, being three leagues off the shore. And you shal have in some places rocks two leagues off: and that, betweene the river of Sesto and cape de las Palmas.

Cape de Monte.

Cape de las Palmas.

Betweene the river of Sesto and the river Dulce are five and twentie leagues: & the high land that is betweene them both, is called Cakeado, being eight leagues from the river of Sesto. And to the Southeastwarde of it is a place called Shawgro, and an other called Shyawe or Shauo, where you may get fresh water. Off this Shyawe lieth a ledge of rockes: and to the Southeastward lieth a hedland called Croke. Betweene Cakeado and Croke are nine or ten leagues. To the Southeastward off, is a harborow called S. Vincent: Right over against S. Vincent, is a rocke under the water, two leagues & a halfe off the shore. To the Southeastward of that rocke you shal see an island about three or foure leagues off: this island is not past a league off the shore. To the Eastsoutheast of the island is a rocke that lieth above the water, and by that rocke goeth in the river Dulce, which you shall know by the said river and rocke. The Northwest side of the haven is flat sand, and the Southeast side therof is like an Island, and a bare plot without any trees, and so is it not in any other place.

The land of Cakeado.

Shauo.

Croke.

S. Vincents harborow.

The river Dulce.

In the Rode you shall ride in thirteene or foureteene fadomes, good oaze and sand, being the markes of the Rode to bring the Island and the Northeast land together, and here we ankered the last of December.

The third day of Januarie, we came from the river Dulce.

Note that Cape de las Palmas is a faire high land, but some low places thereof by the water side looke like red cliffes with white strakes like hie wayes, a cable length a piece, and this is the East part of the cape. This cape is the Southermost land in all the coast of Guinea, and standeth in foure degrees and a terce.

Cape de las Palmas.

The coast of Guinea.

The coast from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepointes, or de Tres Puntas, is faire & cleare without rocke or other danger.

Twentie and five leagues from Cape de las Palmas, the land is higher then in any place, untill we come to Cape Trepointes: And about ten leagues before you

come to Cape Trepointes, the land riseth still higher and higher, untill you come to Cape Trepointes, Also before you come to the said Cape, after other 5 leagues to the Northwest part of it, there is certaine broken ground, with two great rockes, and within them in the bight of a bay, is a castle called Arra, perteining to the king of Portugall. You shall know it by the said rockes that lie off it: for there is none such from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepointes. This coast lieth East and by North, West and by South. From Cape de las Palmas to the said castle is fourescore and fifteene leagues. And the coast lieth from the said castle to the Westermost point of Trepoyntes, Southeast and by South, Northwest and by North. Also the Westermost point of Trepoyntes is a low lande, lying halfe a mile out in the sea: and upon the innermost necke, to the land-ward, is a tuft of trees, and there we arrived the eleventh day of January.

The castle of Arra.

[II. ii. 17.]

The towne of Samma.

The 12 day of January we came to a towne called Samma or Samva, being 8 leagues from Cape Trepointes toward Eastnortheast. Betweene Cape Trepointes and the towne of Samva is a great ledge of rockes a great way out in the sea. We continued foure dayes at that Towne, and the Captaine thereof would needs have a pledge a shore. But when they received the pledge, they kept him still, and would traffike no more, but shot off their ordinance at us. They have two or three pieces of ordinance and no more.

The pledge was sir John Yorke his Nephew.

Cape Corea.

The sixteenth day of the said month we made reckoning to come to a place called Cape Corea, where captaine Don John dwelleth, whose men entertained us friendly. This Cape Corea is foure leagues Eastwarde of the castle of Mina, otherwise called La mina, or Castello de mina, where we arrived the 18 day of the moneth. Here we made sale of all our cloth, saving two or three packes.

The castle of Mina perteining to the king of Portugall.

The 26 day of the same moneth we weighed anker, and departed from thence to the Trinitie, which was seven leagues Eastward of us, where she solde her wares.

Then they of the Trinitie willed us to go Eastward of that eight or nine leagues, to sell part of their wares, in a place called Perecow, and another place named Perecow Grande, being the Eastermost place of both these, which you shal know by a great round hill neere unto it, named Monte Rodondo, lying Westward from it, and by the water side are many high palme trees. From hence did we set forth homeward the thirteenth day of February, & plied up alongst till we came within seven or eight leagues to Cape Trepointes. About eight of the clocke the 15 day at afternoone, wee did cast about to seaward: and beware of the currants, for they will deceive you sore. Whosoever shall come from the coast of Mina homeward, let him be sure to make his way good West, untill he reckon himselfe as farre as Cape de las Palmas, where the currant setteth alwayes to the Eastward. And within twentie leagues Eastward of Cape de las Palmas is a river called De los Potos, where you may have fresh water and balast enough, and plenty of ivory or Elephants teeth. This river standeth in foure degrees, and almost two terces. And when you reckon your selfe as farre shot as Cape de las Palmas, being in a degree, or a degree and a halfe, you may go West, and West by North, untill you come in three degrees: and then you may go Westnorthwest, and Northwest and by West, untill you come in five degrees, and then Northwest. And in sixe degrees, we met Northerly windes, and great ruffling of tides. And as we could judge, the currants went to the Northnorthwest. Furthermore betweene Cape de Monte, and Cape Verde, go great currants, which deceive many men.

Perecow. Perecow grand.

Monte Rodondo.

The currants.

From Mina homeward.

Rio de los Potos.

Ivory.

Cabo de las Palmas.

Currants.

The 22 day of Aprill, we were in 8 degrees and two terces: and so we ran to the Northwest, having the winde at Northeast and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at East, untill we were at 18 degrees and a terce, which was on May day. And so from 18 and two terces, we had the winde at East and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at Eastsoutheast: and then we reckoned the Islands of

Cape verde Eastsoutheast of us, we judging our selves to be 48 leagues off. And in 20 and 21 degrees, we had the winde more Easterly to the Southward then before. And so we ran to the Northwest and Northnorthwest, and sometimes North and by West and North, untill we came into 31 degrees, where we reckoned our selves a hundred and fourescore leagues Southwest and by South of the Island de los Flores, and there wee met with the winde at Southsoutheast, and set our course Northeast.

The Ile de Flores.

In 23 degrees we had the winde at the South and Southwest, and then we set our course Northnortheast, and so we ran to 40 degrees, and then we set our course Northeast, the winde being at the Southwest, and having the Isle de Flores East of us, and 17 leagues off.

In the 41 degrees we met with the winde at Northeast, and so we ran Northwestward, then we met with the winde Westnorthwest, and at the West within 6 leagues, running toward the Northwest, and then we cast about, and lay Northeast, untill we came in 42 degrees, where we set our course Eastnortheast, judging the Ile of Corvo South and by West of us, and sixe and thirtie leagues distant from us.

The Ile of Corvo.

A remembrance, that the 21 day of May we communed with John Rafe, and he thought it best to goe Northeast, and judged himselfe 25 leagues Eastward to the Isle de Flores, and in 39 degrees and a halfe.

Where they lost the sight of the North starre.

Note, that on the fourth day of September, under nine degrees, we lost the sight of the North starre.

How the compasse doeth varie.

Note also, that in 45 degrees, the compasse is varied 8 degrees to the West.

Item, in 40 degrees the compasse did varie 15 degrees in the whole.

Item, in 30 degrees and a halfe, the compasse is varied 5 degrees to the West.

[II. ii. 18.]

Be it also in memory that two or three daies before we came to Cape de 3 puntas, the pinnesse went alongst the shore, thinking to sell some of our wares, and so

we came to anker three or foure leagues West and by South of the Cape de 3 puntas, where we left the Trinitie.

Then our pinnesse came aboord with all our men, the pinnesse also tooke in more wares. They told me moreover that they would goe to a place where the Primrose was, and had received much gold at the first voyage to these parties, and tolde me furthermore that it was a good place: but I fearing a brigantine that was then upon the coast, did wey and follow them, and left the Trinitie about foure leagues off from us, and there we rode against that towne foure dayes: so that Martine by his owne desire, and assent of some of the Commissioners that were in the pinnesse, went a shoare to the towne, and there John Berin went to trafique from us, being three miles off trafiquing at an other towne. The towne is called Samma or Samva, for Samma and Sammaterra, are the names of the two first townes, where we did trafique for gold, to the Northeast of Cape de 3 puntas.

The Primrose.

The towne of Samma.

Golde.

Hitherto continueth the course of the voyage, as it was described by the sayde Pilot. Nowe therefore I will speake somewhat of the countrey and people, and of such things as are brought from thence.

They brought from thence at the last voiage foure hundred pound weight and odde of gold, of two and twentie carrats and one graine in finenesse: also sixe and thirtie buts of graines, & about two hundred and fifty Elephants teeth of all quantities. Of these I saw & measured some of nine spans in length, as they were crooked. Some of them were as bigge as a mans thigh above the knee, and weyed about fourescore and ten pound weight a peece. They say that some one hath bin seene of an hundred and five & twentie pound weight. Other there were which they call the teeth of calves, of one or two or three yeeres, whereof some were a foot and a halfe, some two foot, and some 3 or more, according to ye age of the beast. These great teeth or

Gold foure hundreth weight.

Graines.

Elephants teeth.

tusks grow in the upper jaw downeward, and not in the nether jaw upward, wherein the Painters and Arras workers are deceived. At this last voyage was brought from Guinea the head of an Elephant, of such huge bignesse, that onely the bones or cranew thereof, beside the nether jaw & great tusks, weighed about two hundred weight, and was as much as I could well lift from the ground: insomuch that considering also herewith the weight of two such great teeth, the nether jaw with the lesse teeth, the tongue, the great hanging eares, the bigge & long snout or troonke, with all the flesh, braines, and skinne, with all other parts belonging to the whole head, in my judgement it could weigh litle lesse then five hundred weight. This head divers have seene in the house of the worthy marchant sir Andrew Judde, where also I saw it, and beheld it, not only with my bodily eyes, but much more with the eyes of my mind and spirit, considering by the worke, the cunning and wisedome of the workemaister: without which consideration, the sight of such strange and wonderfull things may rather seeme curiosities, then profitable contemplations.

The head of an Elephant.

Sir Andrew Judde.

The contemplations of Gods works.

The description and properties of the Elephant.

The Elephant (which some call an Oliphant) is the biggest of all foure footed beasts, his forelegs are longer then his hinder, he hath ancles in the lower part of his hinder legges, and five toes on his feete undivided, his snout or tronke is so long, and in such forme, that it is to him in the stead of a hand: for he neither eateth nor drinketh but by bringing his tronke to his mouth, therewith he helpeth up his Master or keeper, therewith he overthroweth trees. Beside his two great tusks, he hath on every side of his mouth foure teeth, wherewith he eateth and grindeth his meate: either of these teeth are almost a span in length, as they grow along in the jaw, and are about two inches in height, and almost as much in thicknesse. The tuskes of the male are greater then of the female: his tongue is very litle, and so farre in his mouth, that it cannot be seene: of all beastes they are most gentle and tractable, for by many sundry wayes

they are taught, and doe understand: insomuch that they learne to doe due honor to a king, and are of quicke sense and sharpenesse of wit. When the male hath once seasoned the female, he never after toucheth her. The male Elephant liveth two hundreth yeeres, or at the least one hundred and twentie: the female almost as long, but the floure of their age is but threescore yeres, as some write. They cannot suffer winter or cold: they love rivers, and will often go into them up to the snout, wherewith they blow and snuffe, and play in the water: but swimme they cannot, for the weight of their bodies. Plinie and Soline write, that they use none adulterie. If they happen to meete with a man in wildernesse being out of the way, gently they wil go before him, & bring him into the plaine way. Joyned in battel, they have no small respect unto them that be wounded: for they bring them that are hurt or weary into the middle of the army to be defended: they are made tame by drinking the juise of barley. They have continual warre against Dragons, which desire their blood, because it is very cold: and therfore the Dragon lying awaite as the Elephant passeth by, windeth his taile (being of exceeding length) about the hinder legs of the Elephant, & so staying him, thrusteth his head into his tronke and exhausteth his breath, or else biteth him in the eare, wherunto he cannot reach with his tronke, and when the Elephant waxeth faint, he falleth downe on the serpent, being now full of blood, and with the poise of his body breaketh him: so that his owne blood with the blood of the Elephant runneth out of him mingled together, which being colde, is congealed into that substance which the Apothecaries call Sanguis Draconis, (that is) Dragons blood, otherwise called Cinnabaris, although there be an other kinde of Cinnabaris, commonly called Cinoper or Vermilion, which the Painters use in certaine colours.

Debate betweene the Elephant & the Dragon.

[II. ii. 19.]

Sanguis Draconis.

Cinnabaris.

They are also of three kinds, as of the Marshes, the plaines, and the mountaines, no lesse differing in con-

Three kinds of Elephants.

ditions. Philostratus writeth, that as much as the Elephant of Libya in bignes passeth the horse of Nysea, so much doe the Elephants of India exceed them of Libya: for the Elephants of India, some have bene seene of the height of nine cubits: the other do so greatly feare these, that they dare not abide the sight of them. Of the Indian Elephants onely the males have tuskes, but of them of Ethiopia and Libya both kindes are tusked: they are of divers heights, as of twelve, thirteene, and fourteene dodrants, every dodrant being a measure of nine inches. Some write that an Elephant is bigger then three wilde Oxen or Buffes. They of India are black, or of ye colour of a mouse, but they of Ethiope or Guinea are browne: the hide or skinne of them all is very hard, and without haire or bristles: their eares are two dodrants broad, and their eyes very litle. Our men saw one drinking at a river in Guinea, as they sailed into the land.

Of other properties & conditions of the Elephant, as of their marveilous docilitie, of their fight and use in the warres, of their generation and chastitie, when they were first seene in the Theaters and triumphes of the Romanes, how they are taken & tamed, and when they cast their tusks, with the use of the same in medicine, who so desireth to know, let him reade Plinie, in the eight booke of his naturall history. He also writeth in his twelft booke, that in olde time they made many goodly workes of ivory or Elephants teeth: as tables, tressels, postes of houses, railes, lattesses for windowes, images of their gods, and divers other things of ivory, both coloured and uncoloured, and intermixt with sundry kindes of precious woods, as at this day are made certaine chaires, lutes, and virginals. They had such plenty thereof in olde time, that (as far as I remember) Josephus writeth, that one of the gates of Hierusalem was called Porta Eburnea, (that is) the Ivory gate. The whitenesse thereof was so much esteemed, that it was thought to represent the natural fairenesse of mans skinne: insomuch that such as

Workes of Ivorie.

went about to set foorth (or rather corrupt) naturall beautie with colours and painting, were reproved by this proverbe, Ebur atramento candefacere, that is, To make ivory white with inke. The Poets also describing the faire necks of beautifull virgins, call them Eburnea colla, that is, Ivory necks. And to have said thus much of Elephants and Ivory, it may suffice.

The people of Africa.

Now therefore I will speake somewhat of the people and their maners, and maner of living, with an other briefe description of Africa also. It is to be understood, that the people which now inhabite the regions of the coast of Guinea, and the midle parts of Africa, as Libya the inner, and Nubia, with divers other great & large regions about the same, were in old time called Æthiopes and Nigritæ, which we now call Moores, Moorens, or Negroes, a people of beastly living, without a God, lawe, religion, or common wealth, and so scorched and vexed with the heat of the sunne, that in many places they curse it when it riseth. Of the regions and people about the inner Libya (called Libya interior) Gemma Phrysius writeth thus.

Libya interior.

Libya interior is very large and desolate, in the which are many horrible wildernesses & mountaines, replenished with divers kinds of wilde and monstrous beastes and serpents. First from Mauritania or Barbary toward the South is Getulia, a rough and savage region, whose inhabitants are wilde and wandering people. After these follow the people called Melanogetuli and Pharusii, which wander in the wildernesse, carrying with them great gourdes of water. The Ethiopians called Nigritæ occupy a great part of Africa, and are extended to the West Ocean. Southward also they reach to the river Nigritis, whose nature agreeth with the river of Nilus, forasmuch as it is increased and diminished at the same time, and bringeth forth the like beasts as the Crocodile. By reason whereof, I thinke this to be the same river which the Portugals call Senega: For this river is also of the same nature. It is furthermore marveilous and very strange

Getulia.

Æthiopes. Nigritæ.

The river Nigritis or Senega.

A strange thing.

that is said of this river: And this is, that on the one side thereof, the inhabitants are of high stature and black, and on the other side, of browne or tawnie colour, and low stature, which thing also our men confirme to be true.

Garamantes. There are also other people of Libya called Garamantes, whose women are common: for they contract no matrimonie, neither have respect to chastitie. After these *People of Libya.* are the nations of the people called Pyrei, Sathiodaphnitæ, Odrangi, Mimaces, Lynxamatæ, Dolopes, Aganginæ, Leuci Ethiopes, Xilicei Ethiopes, Calcei Ethiopes, and Nubi. These have the same situation in Ptolome that they now give to the kingdome of Nubia. Here are [II. ii. 20.] certaine Christians under the dominion of the great *Prester John.* Emperour of Æthiopia, called Prester John. From these toward the West is a great nation of people called Aphricerones, whose region (as farre as may be gathered *Regnum Orguene.* by conjecture) is the same that is now called Regnum Orguene, confining upon the East parts of Guinea. From hence Westward, and somewhat toward the North, *Gambra.* are the kingdoms of Gambra and Budomel, not farre from the river of Senega. And from hence toward the inland regions, and along by the sea coast, are the regions *Guinea.* of Ginoia or Guinea, which we commonly call Ginnee. On the Westside of these regions toward the Ocean, is *Cabo Verde.* the cape or point called Cabo verde, or Caput viride, *The Portugals Navigation to Brasile.* (that is) the greene cape, to the which the Portugals first direct their course when they saile to America, or the land of Brasile. Then departing from hence, they turne to the right hand toward the quarter of the winde called Garbino, which is betweene the West and the South. But to speake somewhat more of Æthiopia: although there are many nations of people so named, yet *Aethiopia.* is Aethiopia chiefly divided into two parts, whereof the one is called Aethiopia under Aegypt, a great & rich *The Island of Meroe.* region. To this perteineth the Island Meroe, imbraced round about with the stremes of the river Nilus. In this Island women reigned in old time. Josephus writeth,

that it was sometime called Sabea: and that the Queene of Saba came from thence to Jerusalem, to heare the wisedom of Salomon. From hence toward the East reigneth the said Christian Emperor Prester John, whom some cal Papa Johannes, & other say that he is called Pean Juan (that is) great John, whose Empire reacheth far beyond Nilus, and is extended to the coasts of the Red sea & Indian sea. The middle of the region is almost in 66. degrees of longitude, and 12. degrees of latitude. About this region inhabite the people called Clodi, Risophagi, Babylonii, Axiunitæ, Molili, and Molibæ. After these is the region called Troglodytica, whose inhabitants dwel in caves and dennes: for these are their houses, & the flesh of serpents their meat, as writeth Plinie, and Diodorus Siculus. They have no speach, but rather a grinning and chattering. There are also people without heads, called Blemines, having their eyes and mouth in their breast. Likewise Strucophagi, and naked Ganphasantes: Satyrs also, which have nothing of men but onely shape. Moreover Oripei, great hunters. Mennones also, and the region of Smyrnophora, which bringeth foorth myrrhe. After these is the region of Azania, in the which many Elephants are found. A great part of the other regions of Africke that are beyond the Aequinoctiall line, are now ascribed to the kingdome of Melinde, whose inhabitants are accustomed to trafique with the nations of Arabia, and their king is joyned in friendship with the king of Portugal, and payeth tribute to Prester John.

The Queene of Saba.

Prester John Emperour of Aethiopia.

People of the Eastside of Africa.

People without heads.

Myrrh.

Azania.

Regnum Melinde.

The other Ethiope, called Æthiopia interior (that is) the inner Ethiope, is not yet knowne for the greatnesse thereof, but onely by the sea coastes: yet is it described in this maner. First from the Aequinoctiall toward ye South, is a great region of Aethiopians, which bringeth forth white Elephants, Tygers, and the beastes called Rhinocerotes. Also a region that bringeth foorth plenty of cynamome, lying betweene the branches of Nilus. Also the kingdome of Habech or Habasia, a region of

Aethiopia interior.

White Elephants.

Habasia.

Christian men, lying both on this side and beyond Nilus.

Ichthiophagi. Here are also the Aethiopians, called Ichthiophagi (that is) such as live onely by fish, and were sometimes subdued by the warres of great Alexander. Furthermore the

Anthropophagi. Aethiopians called Rhapsii, & Anthropophagi, y^t^ are accustomed to eat mans flesh, inhabite the regions neere

Montes Lunæ. unto the mountains called Montes Lunæ (that is) the

Gazatia. mountaines of the Moone. Gazatia is under the Tropike of Capricorne. After this followeth the front of Afrike,

Cap. bonæ Spei. the Cape of Buena Speranza, or Caput Bonæ Spei, that is, the Cape of good hope, by the which they passe that saile from Lisbon to Calicut. But by what names the Capes and gulfes are called, forasmuch as the same are in every globe and card, it were here superfluous to rehearse them.

Africa without colde. Some write that Africa was so named by the Grecians, because it is without colde. For the Greeke letter Alpha or A signifieth privation, voyd, or without: and Phrice signifieth colde. For in deed although in the stead of

The winter of Africa. Winter they have a cloudy and tempestuous season, yet is it not colde, but rather smoothering hote, with hote showres of raine also, and somewhere such scorching windes, that what by one meanes and other, they seeme at certaine times to live as it were in fornaces, and in maner already halfe way in Purgatorie or hell. Gemma Phrisius writeth, that in certaine parts of Africa, as in Atlas the greater, the aire in the night season is seene

Flames of fire and noise in the aire. shining, with many strange fires and flames rising in maner as high as the Moone: and that in the element are sometime heard as it were the sound of pipes, trumpets and drummes: which noises may perhaps be caused by the vehement and sundry motions of such firie exhalations in the aire, as we see the like in many experiences wrought by fire, aire and winde. The hollownesse also, and divers reflexions and breaking of the cloudes may be

The middle region of the aire is cold. great causes hereof, beside the vehement colde of the middle region of the aire, whereby the said fiery exhalations, ascending thither, are suddenly stricken backe with

great force: for even common and dayly experience teacheth us, by the whissing of a burning torch, what noise fire maketh in the aire, and much more where it striveth when it is inclosed with aire, as appeareth in gunnes, and as the like is seene in onely aire inclosed, as in Organ pipes, and such other instruments that go by winde. For winde (as say the Philosophers) is none other then aire vehemently moved, as we see in a paire of bellowes, and such other. [II. ii. 21.] *The strife of Elements.* *Winde.*

Some of our men of good credit that were in this last voiage to Guinea, affirme earnestly that in the night season they felt a sensible heat to come from the beames of the moone. The which thing, although it be strange and insensible to us that inhabite cold regions, yet doeth it stand with good reason that it may so be, forasmuch as the nature of starres and planets (as writeth Plinie) consisteth of fire, and conteineth in it a spirit of life, which cannot be without heat. *The heate of the Moone.* *The nature of the starres.*

And, that the Moone giveth heate upon the earth the Prophet David seemeth to confirme in his 121. Psalme, where speaking of such men as are defended from evils by Gods protection, hee saith thus: Per diem Sol non exuret te, nec Luna per noctem. That is to say, In the day the Sunne shall not burne thee, nor the Moone by night.

They say furthermore, that in certaine places of the sea they saw certaine streames of water, which they call spouts, falling out of the aire into the sea, & that some of these are as bigge as the great pillars of Churches: insomuch that sometimes they fall into shippes, and put them in great danger of drowning. Some faine that these should be the Cataracts of heaven, which were all opened at Noes floud. But I thinke them rather to be such fluxions and eruptions as Aristotle in his booke de Mundo saith, to chance in the sea. For speaking of such strange things as are seene often times in the sea, he writeth thus. Oftentimes also even in the sea are seene evaporations of fire, and such eruptions and break- *Spoutes of water falling out of the aire.* *Cataracts of heaven.*

ing foorth of springs, that the mouthes of rivers are opened. Whirlepooles, and fluxions are caused of such other vehement motions, not only in the middest of the sea, but also in creeks & streights. At certaine times also, a great quantity of water is suddenly lifted up and carried about with the Moone, &c. By which wordes of Aristotle it doth appeare that such waters be lifted up in one place at one time, and suddenly fall downe in an other place at another time. And hereunto perhaps perteineth it that Richard Chanceller told me that he heard Sebastian Cabot report, that (as farre as I remember) either about the coasts of Brasile or Rio de Plata, his shippe or pinnesse was suddenly lifted from the sea, and cast upon land, I wot not howe farre. The which thing, and such other like wonderfull and strange workes of nature while I consider, and call to remembrance the narrownesse of mans understanding and knowledge, in comparison of her mightie power, I can but cease to marvell and confesse with Plinie, that nothing is to her impossible, the least part of whose power is not yet knowen to men. Many things more our men saw and considered in this voyage, woorthy to be noted, whereof I have thought good to put some in memory, that the reader may aswell take pleasure in the variety of things, as knowledge of the historie. Among other things therefore, touching the maners and nature of the people, this may seeme strange, that their princes & noble men use to pounce and rase their skinnes with pretie knots in divers formes, as it were branched damaske, thinking that to be a decent ornament. And albeit they goe in maner all naked, yet are many of them, & especialy their women, in maner laden with collars, bracelets, hoopes, and chaines, either of gold, copper, or ivory. I my selfe have one of their braslets of Ivory, weighing two pound and sixe ounces of Troy weight, which make eight and thirtie ounces: this one of their women did weare upon her arme. It is made of one whole piece of the biggest part of the tooth, turned and somewhat carved, with a hole in

Vehement motions in the Sea.

A strange thing.

The power of nature.

They rase their skinnes.

Fine jewels.

A bracelet.

the midst, wherin they put their hands to weare it on their arme. Some have on every arme one, and as many on their legges, wherewith some of them are so galled, that although they are in maner made lame thereby, yet will they by no meanes leave them off. Some weare also on their legges great shackles of bright copper, which *Shackles.* they thinke to bee no lesse comely. They weare also collars, bracelets, garlands, and girdles, of certain blew stones like beads. Likewise some of their women weare on their bare armes certaine foresleeves made of the plates of beaten golde. On their fingers also they weare rings, made of golden wires, with a knot or wreath, like *Rings.* unto that which children make in a ring of a rush. Among other things of golde that our men bought of them for exchange of their wares, were certaine dog- *Dogs chaines of golde.* chaines and collers.

They are very wary people in their bargaining, and will not lose one sparke of golde of any value. They use weights and measures, and are very circumspect in occupying the same. They that shall have to doe with them, must use them gently: for they will not trafique or bring in any wares if they be evill used. At the first voyage that our men had into these parties, it so chanced, that at their departure from the first place where they did trafick, one of them either stole a muske Cat, or *A muske cat.* tooke her away by force, not mistrusting that that should have hindered their bargaining in another place whither they intended to goe. But for all the haste they coulde make with full sailes, the fame of their misusage so prevented them, that the people of that place also, offended thereby, would bring in no wares: insomuch that they were inforced either to restore the Cat, or pay for her [II. ii. 22.] at their price, before they could trafique there.

Their houses are made of foure postes or trees, and *Their houses.* covered with boughes.

Their common feeding is of roots, & such fishes as *Their feeding.* they take, whereof they have great plenty.

There are also such flying fishes as are seene in the *Flying fishes.*

sea of the West Indies. Our men salted of their fishes, hoping to provide store thereof: but they would take no salt, and must therfore be eaten forthwith as some say. Howbeit other affirme, that if they be salted immediatly after they be taken, they wil last uncor-

A strange thing. rupted ten or twelve dayes. But this is more strange, that part of such flesh as they caried with them out of England, which putrified there, became sweete againe at their returne to the clime of temperate regions.

Their bread. They use also a strange making of bread, in this maner. They grinde betweene two stones with their handes as much corne as they thinke may suffice their family, and when they have thus brought it to floure, they put thereto a certaine quantitie of water, and make thereof very thinne dough, which they sticke upon some post of their houses, where it is baked by the heate of the Sunne: so that when the master of the house or any of his family will eate thereof, they take it downe and eate it.

Their wheat. They have very faire wheate, the eare whereof is two handfuls in length, and as bigge as a great Bulrush, and almost foure inches about where it is biggest. The stemme or straw seemeth to be almost as bigge as the litle finger of a mans hand, or litle lesse. The graines of this wheate are as big as our peason, round also, and very white, and somewhat shining, like pearles that have lost their colour. Almost all the substance of them turneth into floure, & maketh litle bran or none. I told in one eare two hundred & threescore graines. The eare is inclosed in three blades longer then it selfe, & of two inches broad a piece. And by this fruitfulnes

The Sunne. the Sunne seemeth partly to recompence such griefes and molestations as they otherwise receive by the fervent heate thereof. It is doubtlesse a worthy contemplation to consider the contrary effects of the sunne: or rather the contrary passions of such things as receive the influence of his beames, either to their hurt or benefit. Their

Their drinke. drinke is either water, or the juise that droppeth from

the cut branches of the barren Date trees, called Palmitos. For either they hang great gourdes at the said branches every evening, and let them so hang all night, or else they set them on the ground under the trees, that the droppes may fall therein. They say that this kinde of drinke is in taste much like unto whey, but somewhat sweeter, and more pleasant. They cut the branches every evening, because they are seared up in the day by the heate of the Sunne. They have also great beanes as bigge as chestnuts, and very hard, with a shell in the stead of a huske.

Many things more might be saide of the maners of the people, and of the wonders and monstrous things that are engendred in Africke. But it shall suffice to have saide thus much of such things as our men partly sawe, and partly brought with them.

Graines

And whereas before speaking of the fruit of graines, I described the same to have holes by the side (as in deede it hath, as it is brought hither) yet was I afterward enfourmed, that those holes were made to put stringes or twigges through the fruite, thereby to hang them up to dry at the Sunne. They grow not past a foote and a halfe, or two foote from the ground, and are as red as blood when they are gathered. The graines themselves are called of the Phisicions Grana Paradisi.

Shels that cleave to ships.

At their comming home the keeles of their shippes were marveilously overgrowne with certaine shelles of two inches length and more, as thicke as they could stand, and of such bignesse that a man might put his thumbe in the mouthes of them. They certainely affirme that in these there groweth a certaine slimie substance, which at the length slipping out of the shell and falling in the sea, becommeth those foules which we call Barnacles. The like shelles have bene seene in ships returning from Iseland, but these shels were not past halfe an inch in length. Of the other that came from Guinea, I sawe the Primerose lying in the docke, and in maner covered with the said shels, which in my

Barnacles.

judgement should greatly hinder her sayling. Their ships were also in many places eaten with the wormes called Bromas or Bissas, whereof mention is made in the Decades. These creepe betweene the plankes, which they eate through in many places.

Bromas.

A secret.

Among other things that chanced to them in this voyage, this is worthy to be noted, that wheras they sailed thither in seven weekes, they could returne in no lesse space then twentie weekes. The cause whereof they say to be this: That about the coast of Cabo Verde the winde is ever at the East, by reason whereof they were enforced to saile farre out of their course into the maine Ocean, to finde the winde at the West to bring them home. There died of our men at this last voyage about twentie and foure, whereof many died at their returne into the clime of the colde regions, as betweene the Islands of Azores and England. They brought with them certaine blacke slaves, whereof some were tall and strong men, and could wel agree with our meates and drinkes. The colde and moyst aire doth somewhat offend them. Yet doubtlesse men that are borne in hot Regions may better abide colde, then men that are borne in colde Regions may abide heate, forasmuch as vehement heate resolveth the radicall moysture of mens bodies, as colde constraineth and preserveth the same.

The death of our men.

Five blacke Moores brought into England.

[II. ii. 23.] *Colde may be better abiden then heate.*

This is also to be considered as a secret worke of nature, that throughout all Africke, under the Æquinoctial line, and neere about the same on both sides, the regions are extreeme hote, and the people very blacke. Whereas contrarily such regions of the West Indies as are under the same line are very temperate, and the people neither blacke, nor with curlde and short wooll on their heads, as they of Africke have, but of the colour of an Olive, with long and blacke heare on their heads: the cause of which variety is declared in divers places in the Decades.

It is also worthy to be noted that some of them that were at this voyage told me: That is, that they

overtooke the course of the Sunne, so that they had it North from them at noone, the 14. day of March. And to have said thus much of these voyages, it may suffice.

The first voyage made by Master William Towrson Marchant of London, to the coast of Guinea, with two Ships, in the yeere 1555.

UPon Munday the thirtieth day of September wee departed from the Isle of Wight, out of the haven of Neuport with two good shippes, the one called the Hart, the other the Hinde, both of London, and the Masters of them were John Ralph, and William Carter, for a voyage to bee made unto the River de Sestos in Guinea, and to other havens thereabout. *September.*

It fell out by the varietie of windes, that it was the foureteenth day of October before wee coulde fetch Dartmouth: and being there arrived wee continued in that roade sixe dayes, and the 20. of October we warpt out of the haven, and set saile, directing our course towards the Southwest, and the next morning we were runne by estimation thirty leagues. *October.*

The first of November we found ourselves to be in 31. degrees of latitude by the reckoning of our Master. This day we ranne about 40. leagues also. *November.*

The second day we ranne 36. leagues.

The third day we had sight of Porto Santo, which is a small Island lying in the sea, about three leagues long, and a league & a halfe broad, & is possessed by Portugals. It riseth as we came from the Northnorthwest like two small hilles neere together. The East end of the same Island is a high land like a saddle with a valley, which makes it to beare that forme. The West ende of it is lower with certaine small round hillocks. This Island lyeth in thirty and three degrees. *Porto Santo.*

Madera. The same day at 11. of the clocke we raysed the Isle of Madera, which lieth 12. leagues from Porto Santo, towards the Southwest: that Island is a faire Island and fruitfull, and is inhabited by Portugals, it riseth afarre off like a great whole land and high. By three of the clocke this day at after noone we were thwart of Porto Santo, and we set our course Southwest, to leave the Isle of Madera to the Eastward, as we did Porto Santo. These two Islands were the first land that we saw since wee left the coast of England. About three of the clocke after midnight wee were thwart of Madera, within three leagues of the West ende of it, and by meanes of the high hilles there, we were becalmed: We suppose we ranne this day and night 30. leagues.

The fourth day wee lay becalmed under the Isle of Madera, untill one of the clocke at afternoone, and then, the winde comming into the East, wee went our course, and ranne that day fifteene leagues.

The 5. day we ranne 15. leagues more.

Tenerif. The 6. day in the morning we raysed the Isle of Tenerif, otherwise called the Pike, because it is a very high Island, with a pike upon the top like a loafe of *Palma.* suger. The same night we raised the Isle of Palma, which is a high land also, and to the Westward of the Isle of Tenerif.

Gomera. The 7. day we perceived the Isle of Gomera, which is an Island standing betwixt Tenerif and Palma, about 12. leagues Eastward from Palma, and 8. leagues Westward from Tenerif: and for feare of being becalmed with the Isle of Tenerif, we left both it, and Gomera to the Eastward of us, and went betwixt Palma and Gomera. We ranne this day and night 30. leagues.

Note that these Islands be 60. leagues from Madera, and that there are 3. Islands more to the Westward of Tenerif, named the Grand Canaria, Forte-ventura, & Lancerot, of which Islands we came not in sight: they be inhabited by Spaniards.

This day also we had sight of the Isle of Ferro, which is to the Southwards 13. leagues from the other Islands, and is possessed by Spaniards. All this day and night by reason of the winde we could not double the point of the Isle of Ferro, except we would have gone to the Westward of it, which had bene much out of our course: therefore we kept about, and ranne backe five houres Eastnortheast to the ende we might double it upon the next boord, the winde continuing Southeast, which hath not bene often seene upon that coast by any travailers: for the winde continueth there for the most part Northeast, & East Northeast: so upon the other boord by the next morning we were in a maner with the Island, and had roome ynough to double the same. *Ferro.* [II. ii. 24.]

The 8. day we kept our course as neere the winde as wee could, because that our due course to fetch the coast of Barbary was Southeast and by East, but by the scant winde wee could not goe our due course, but went as neere it as we could, and ranne this day and night 25. leagues.

The 9. day we ranne 30. leagues, the 10. 25. leagues, the 12. 24.

The 12. day we sawe a saile under our Lee, which was as we thought a fisherman, so that wee went roome to have spoken with him, but within one houre there fell such a fogge, that wee could not see the shippe nor one of us the other: we shot off divers pieces to the Hinde, but she heard them not: at after noone she shot off a piece which wee heard, and made her answere with another: and within one halfe houre after the fogge brake up, and we were within 4. leagues of the shoare upon the coast of Barbary, and wee sounded and had 14. fadom water. The Barke also came roome with us and there ankered by reason of the contrary winde. When we fell with the land, we could not judge justly what part of the land it was, because the most part of that coast is lowe land, and no part to be judged of it

but the forepart of the shoare, which is white like chalke or sand, and very deepe unto the hard shoare: there immediatly we began to fish, and found great store of a kinde of fish which the Portugals commonly fish for upon that coast, which they cal Pergosses, the Frenchmen call them Saders, and our men salt-water breames. Before the clearing up of the fogge, the shippe which we followed shaped us such a course that we could see her no more, by reason of our shooting off to finde the Hinde againe. This part of the coast of Barbary, by our Pilots reckoning, is about 16. leagues to the Eastwards of the river del Oro.

River del Oro.

The 13. day in the afternoone wee spyed a saile comming towards us, which wee judged to be the saile that wee sawe the day before, and as soone as we spied him, wee caused the Hinde to way her ancre and to goe towardes him, and manned out our Skiffe in like case to lay him aboorde, or to discerne what hee was, and wee our selves within halfe an houre after wayed also: but after the saile had espied us, hee kept about, and turned backe againe, and shortly after there fell such another fogge, that wee coulde not see him: which fogges continued all that night, so that we were constrained to leave the chase. This afternoone the winde came about, and wee went our course Southwest and by West, to goe cleare off the coast, wee ranne that night sixteene leagues.

The foureteenth day in the morning was very foggie: but about twelve a clocke wee espied a Carvell of 60. tunne which was fishing, and we sent our Skiffe to him with five men, and all without any weapon saving their Oares. The Carvell for haste let slippe her ancre, and set saile; and they seeing that, fearing that they should not fetch her, would tary for no weapons, and in the ende overtooke the Carvell, and made her to strike saile, and brought her away, although they had foureteene or fifteene men aboord, & every man his weapon, but they had not the hearts to resist our men.

A Carvell taken.

After they were come to us, they let fall their ancre, for wee had cast ancre because the winde was not good: I caused then the Skiffe to come for mee, and I went aboorde of them to see that no harme should bee done to them, nor to take any thing but that which they might spare us for our money. So we tooke of them 3. Tapnets of figges, two small pots of oyle, two pipes of water, foure hogsheads of saltfish which they had taken upon the coast, and certaine fresh fish which they did not esteeme, because there is such store upon that coast, that in an houre and sometime lesse, a man may take as much fish as will serve twentie men a day. For these things, and for some wine which wee dranke aboorde of them, and three or foure great Cannes which they sent aboord of our shippes, I payed them twentie and seven Pistolets, which was twise as much as they willingly would have taken: and so let them goe to their ancre and cable which they had let slippe, and got it againe by our helpe. After this wee set saile, but the winde caused us to ancre againe about twelve leagues off the river del Oro, as the Portugals tolde us. There were five Carvels more in this place, but when they sawe us, they made all away for feare of us.

Great store of fish upon the coast of Barbary.

The 15. day we ridde still because of the winde.

The 16. day we set saile and ranne our course 40. leagues. This day, by the reckoning of our Pilots, we were right under the Tropike of Cancer. The 17. day we ranne 25. leagues within sight for the most part of the coast of Barbary.

The Tropike of Cancer in 23. and a halfe.

The 18. day wee ranne thirtie leagues, and at twelve of the clocke by the reckoning of our Pilots we were thwart of Cape Blanke.

Cape Blanke.

The 22. day our Pilots reckoned us to be thwart Cape Verde.

[II. ii. 25.] *Cape Verde.*

The 12. day of December we had sight of land of Guinea, which as soone as we saw we halled into the land Northeast, and about 12. of the clocke at night

The coast of Guinea.

we were neere the shoare within lesse then 2. leagues: and then we kept about and sounded, and found 18. fadom water. Afterwards we saw a light towards the shoare, which we thought to have bene a ship, and thereby judged it to be the river de Sestos, which light as soone as we espied, we came to an anker & armed our tops, and made all things ready to fight, because we doubted that it might be some Portugal or French man: this night we remained at an anker, but in the morning we saw no man, only we espied 4. rockes about 2. English miles from us, one great rocke, and the 3. other smal ones, which when we sawe, we supposed that the light came from the shore, and so wayed and set saile East Southeast along the shoare, because the Master did not well know the place, but thought that we were not so farre to the East as the river de Sestos.

This land all a long is a low land, and full of very high trees all along the shoare, so that it is not possible to know the place that a man doth fall withall, except it be by the latitude: In these 24. houres I thinke we ran 16. leagues, for all the night we had a great gale as we were under saile, and had withall store of thunder and lightnings.

The 13. day for the most part we ran East Southeast all along the shoare, within two leagues alwayes of the same, and found the land all as at the first, ful of woods and great rocks hard aboord the shoare, and the billow beating so sore, that the seas brake upon the shoare as white as snow, and the water mounted so high that a man might easily discerne it 4. leagues off, in such wise that no boate could land there. Thus we ran until 12. of the clocke, and then they tooke the Sunne and after judged themselves to be 24. leagues past the river de Sestos to the Eastwards, by reason whereof we halled into the shoare within two English miles, and there ancred and found fifteene fadom water, and all off from the shoare the sea so

smooth, that we might wel have rid by an Hawser. All that after-noone we trimmed our boate and made her a saile, to the ende that she might go along by the shoore to seeke some place to water in: for wee could not goe backe againe to the river de Sestos, because the winde blowes alwayes contrary, and the Currant runneth alwayes to the Eastwards, which was also against us.

The Currant setting Eastward.

The 14. day we set saile & went back againe along the coast, and sent our boats hard aboord the shoare to seeke a watering place, which they found about 12. of the clock, and we being farre into the sea, met with divers boats of the Countrey, small, long and narrow, & in every boate one man and no more: we gave them bread which they did eat, & were very glad of it. About 4 of the clocke our boats came to us with fresh water: and this night we ankered against a River.

The 15. day we wayed and set saile to goe neere the shoare, and with our leade wee sounded all the way, and found sometimes rockes, and sometimes faire ground, and at the shallowest found 7. fadoms alwayes at the least. So in fine we found 7. fadom and a halfe within an English mile of the shoare, and there we ankered in a maner before the mouth of the River, and then wee sent our boats into the River for water, which went about a mile within the River, where they had very good water. This River lieth by estimation 8. leagues beyond the River de Sestos, and is called in the Carde River S. Vincent, but it is so hard to finde, that a boat being within halfe a mile of it shall not be able to discerne that it is a River: by reason that directly before the mouth of it there lyeth a ledge of rockes, which is much broader then the River, so that a boate must runne in along the shoare a good way betwixt the rockes and the shoare before it come to the mouth of the River, and being within it, it is a great River and divers other Rivers fall into it: The going into it is somewhat ill, because that at the entring the seas do

River S. Vincent.

goe somewhat high, but being once within it, it is as calme as the Thames.

Cloth made of the barke of trees.

There are neere to the Sea upon this River divers inhabitants, which are mighty bigge men and go al naked except some thing before their privie parts, which is like a clout about a quarter of a yard long made of the barke of trees, and yet it is like a cloth: for the barke is of that nature, that it will spin small after the maner of linnen. Some of them also weare the like upon their heades being painted with divers colours, but the most part of them go bare headed, and their heads are clipped and shorne of divers sorts, and the most part of them have their skin of their bodies raced with divers workes, in maner of a leather Jerkin. The men and women goe so alike, that one cannot know a man from a woman but by their breastes, which in the most part be very foule and long, hanging downe low like the udder of a goate.

The Negroes race their skinnes.

The same morning we went into the River with our Skiffe, and caried certaine basons, manels, &c. And there we tooke that day one hogs-head and 100. li. waight of Graines, and two Elephants teeth at a reasonable good reckoning. Wee solde them both basons, and Manelios, and Margarits, but they desired most to have basons: For the most part of our basons wee had by estimation about 30. li. for a piece, and for an Elephants tooth of 30. li. waight, we gave them 6.

Graines of Guinea. Elephants teeth.

[II. ii. 26.]

The 16. day in the morning we went into the river with our Skiffe, and tooke some of every sort of our marchandize with us, and shewed it to the Negroes, but they esteemed it not, but made light of it, and also of the basons, Manellios and Margarits, which yesterday they did buy: howbeit for the basons they would have given us some graines, but to no purpose, so that this day wee tooke not by estimation above one hundreth pound waight of Graines, by meanes of their Captaine, who would suffer no man to sell any thing but through his hands, and at his price: he was so subtile, that for

a bason hee would not give 15. pound waight of Graines, and sometimes would offer us small dishfuls, whereas before wee had baskets full, and when he saw that wee would not take them in contentment, the Captaine departed, and caused all the rest of the boates to depart, thinking belike that wee would have followed them, and have given them their owne askings. But after that wee perceived their fetch, wee wayed our Grapnel and went away, and then wee went on land into a small Towne to see the fashions of the Countrey, and there came a threescore of them about us, and at the first they were afraid of us, but in the ende perceiving that wee did no hurt, they would come to us and take us by the hand and be familiar with us, and then we went into their Townes, which were like to twentie small hovels, all covered over with great leaves and baggage, and all the sides open, and a scaffolde under the house about a yard high, where they worke many pretie things of the barkes of trees, and there they lye also. In some of their houses they worke yron and make faire dartes, and divers other things to worke their boates, and other things withall, and the women worke as well as the men. But when wee were there divers of the women to shew us pleasure danced and sung after their maner, full ill to our eares. Their song was thus:

The description of their Townes and houses.

Sakere, sakere, ho, ho. Sakere, sakere, ho, ho.

And with these words they leape and dance and clap their hands. Beastes we could see none that they had, but two goates, small dogges, and small hennes: other beastes we saw none. After that we had well marked all things we departed and went aboord our ships: which thing the Captaine of the other towne perceiving, sent two of his servants in a boat with a basket of Graines, and made us signes that if when we had slept wee would come againe into their river, wee should have store of Graines, and so shewed us his Graines and departed.

The 17. day in the morning because we thought that the Negroes would have done something because the

Captaine sent for us, I required the Master to goe on shoare, and sent the rest of our Marchants with him, and taried aboord my selfe by reason that the last day he esteemed our things so litle: so when the Master and the rest came into the river, the captaine with divers others came to them, and brought Graines with them, & after that he saw that I was not there, he made signes to know where I was, and they made signes to him againe that I was in the ships: and then hee made signes to know who was Captaine by the name of Diago, for so they call their Captaine, & they pointed to the master of the ship: then he began to shew his Graines, but he held them so unreasonably, that there was no profit to be made of them: which things the Master perceiving, and seeing that they had no store of Graines, came away, and tooke not above 50. pound waight of Graines. Then he went a shoare to the litle Towne where we were the day before, & one of them plucked a Gourd, wherewith the Negroes were offended, & came many of them to our men with their darts and great targets, and made signes to them to depart: which our men did, having but one bow and two or three swords, and went aboord the boate and came away from them: and assoone as they were come aboord we wayed and set saile, but the winde was off the Sea, so that we could not get out cleare of certaine rocks, and therefore we came to an ancre againe.

Diago the name of a Captaine.

The latitude of S. Vincent river is 4. degrees and a halfe.

This river is called River S. Vincent, standing in 4. degrees and a halfe, and it ebbeth and floweth there every 12. houres, but not much water when it ebbeth the most: while wee were there, it ebbed one fadome and a halfe water.

Leaves of exceeding length.

This countrey as farre as we could perceive is altogether woody, and al strange trees, whereof wee knewe none, and they were of many sorts, with great leaves like great dockes, which bee higher then any man is able to reach the top of them.

Long pease stalkes.

There are certaine peason by the Sea side, which grow upon great and very long stalkes, one of the stalkes I

measured and found it 27. paces long, and they grow upon the sand like to trees, and that so neere the Sea, that sometimes the Sea floweth into the woods as we might perceive by the water markes. The trees and all things in this place grow continually greene. Divers of the women have such exceeding long breasts, that some of them wil lay the same upon the ground and lie downe by them, but all the women have not such breasts. *Long womens breasts.*

At this place all the day the winde bloweth off the Sea, and all the night off the land, but wee found it to differ sometimes, which our Master marveiled at. [II. ii. 27.]

This night at 9. of the clocke the winde came up at the East, which ordinarily about that time was wont to come out of the North Northwest off the shoare: yet we wayed and halled off South with that winde all night into the Sea, but the next morning we halled in againe to the lande, and tooke in 6. Tunnes of water for our ship, and I thinke the Hinde tooke in as much.

I could not perceive that here was any gold, or any other good thing: for the people be so wilde and idle, that they give themselves to seeke out nothing: if they would takes paines they might gather great store of graines, but in this place I could not perceive two Tunne.

There are many foules in the Countrey, but the people wil not take the paines to take them.

I observed some of their words of speach, which I thought good here to set downe. *The language about the River of S. Vincent.*

Bezow, bezow,	Is their salutation.
Manegete afoye,	Graines ynough.
Crocow afoye,	Hennes ynough.
Zeramme afoye,	Have you ynough?
Begge sacke,	Give me a knife.
Begge come,	Give me bread.
Borke,	Holde your peace.
Coutrecke,	Ye lye.
Veede,	Put foorth, or emptie.
Brekeke,	Rowe.
Diago,	Their Captaine, and some

call him Dabo. These and other wordes they speake very thicke, and oftentimes recite one word three times together, and at the last time longer then at the two first.

The 18. day towards night, as we were sailing along the coast, we met with certaine boats in the sea, & the men shewed us that there was a river thwart of us, where there were Graines to be sold, but we thought it not good to tary there, least the other ships should get before us. This river hath lying before it three great rockes, and 5. small rocks, one great tree, and a litle tree right by the river, which in height exceeded all the rest: we halled this night along the coast 10. leagues.

The 19. day as we coasted the shoare, about twelve of the clocke there came out to us 3. boates to tell us that they had graines, & brought some with them for a shew, but we could not tary there. We proceeded along the coast, & ancred by the shore all the night, and ran this day 10. leagues.

The 20. day the Hinde having ankered by us amongst rockes, and foule ground, lost a small anker. At noone, as we passed along the coast, there came forth a Negro to us, making signes, that if we would goe a shoare, wee should have Graines, and where wee ankered at night, there came another to us, and brought Graines, and shewed us them, and made signes that wee should tary, and made a fire upon the land in the night, meaning thereby to tell us where we should land, and so they did in divers other places upon the coast, where they saw us to anker.

The tides and nature of the shoare.

In al the places where we have ancred, since we came from our watring place, we have found the tide alwayes running to the Westwards, and all along the coast many rockes hard aboord the shoare, and many of them a league off the shoare or more, we ran this day 12. leagues.

The 21. day, although we ranne all day with a good gale of winde, yet the tides came so sore out of the coast,

that we were not able to runne above sixe leagues: and this day there came some Negroes to us, as there had done other times.

The 22. wee ranne all day and night to double a point, called Das palmas, and ranne sixteene leagues. *The point of Palmas.*

The 23. day about 3. of the clocke we were thwart of the point, & before we came to the Westermost part of it, we saw a great ledge of rocks, which lie West from the Cape about 3. leagues and a league or more from the land. Shortly after we had sight of the Eastermost part of the Cape, which lieth 4. leagues from the Westermost part, and upon the very corner thereof lie two greene places, as it were closes, and to the Westwards of the Cape the land parted from the Cape, as it were a Bay, whereby it may well be knowen. Foure leagues more beyonde that there lieth a head-land in the sea, and about two leagues beyond the head-land there goeth in a great Bay, as it were a river, before which place we ankered all that night, which wee did, least in the night wee should overrunne a river, where the *last yeere they had all their Elephants teeth. * *That was the yere* 1554.

This Cape Das palmas lieth under foure degrees and a halfe, and betwixt the said Cape, and the river de Sestos is the greatest store of Graines to be had, and being past the said Cape, there is no great store else where.

Where we ankered this night, we found that the tide, which before ran alwayes to the Westward, from this Cape runneth all to the Eastward: this day we ranne some 16. leagues. *The tides running Eastward.* [II. ii. 28.]

The 24. day running our course, about eight of the clock there came forth to us certaine boats, which brought with them small egges, which were soft without shels, and they made us signes, that there was within the land fresh water, and Goates: and the Master thinking that it was the river which we sought, cast ancker and sent the boate on shoare, with one that knew the river, and comming neere the shoare, hee perceived that it was not the river, and so came backe againe, and went along the

shoare, with their oares and saile, and wee weyed and ranne along the shoare also: and being thirteene leagues beyond the Cape, the Master perceived a place which he judged to be the river, when wee were in deede two miles shot past it: yet the boate came from the shoare, and they that were in her saide, that there was no river: notwithstanding wee came to an ancker, and the Master and I tooke five men with us in the boat, and when hee came neere the shoare, hee perceived that it was the same river which hee did seeke: so we rowed in, and found the entrance very ill, by reason that the sea goeth so high: and being entred, divers boates came to us, and shewed us that they had Elephants teeth, and they brought us one of about eight pound, & a little one of a pound, which we bought: then they brought certaine teeth to the river side, making signes, that if the next day we would come againe, they would sell us them: so we gave unto two Captaines, to either of them a manillio, and so we departed, and came aboord, and sent out the other boate to another place, where certaine boates that came into the sea, made us signes that there was fresh water: and being come thither, they found a towne, but no river, yet the people brought them fresh water, and shewed them an Elephants tooth, making signes that the next day they would sel them teeth, and so they came aboord.

A Towne.

This river lieth by the Carde thirteene leagues from the Cape Das palmas, and there lieth to the Westwards of the same a rocke about a league in the sea, and the river it selfe hath a point of lande comming out into the Sea, whereupon grow five trees, which may well bee discerned two or three leagues off, comming from the Westward, but the river cannot bee perceived untill such time as a man be hard by it, and then a man may perceive a litle Towne on ech side the river, and to ech Towne there belongeth a Captaine. The river is but small, but the water is good and fresh.

Two miles beyond the river, where the other towne is,

there lieth another point into the Sea, which is greene like a close, and not above sixe trees upon it, which growe one of them from the other, whereby the coast may well be knowen: for along all the coast that we have hitherto sailed by, I have not seene so much bare land.

Many Palme trees.

In this place, and three or foure leagues to the Westward of it, al along the shoare, there grow many Palme trees, whereof they make their wine de Palma. These trees may easily be knowen almost two leagues off, for they be very high and white bodied, and streight, and be biggest in the midst: they have no boughes, but onely a round bush in the top of them: and at the top of the same trees they boare a hole, and there they hang a bottell, and the juyce of the tree runneth out of the said hole into the bottle, and that is their wine.

Cape Tres puntas.

From the Cape das Palmas, to the Cape Tres puntas, there are 100. leagues: and to the port where we purpose to make sales of our cloth beyond the Cape Tres puntas 40. leagues.

Note, that betwixt the river De Sestos, and the Cape Das palmas, is the place where all the graines be gathered.

The language of the people of this place, as far as I could perceive, differeth not much from the language of those which dwel where we watred before: but the people of this place be more gentle in nature then the other, and goodlier men: their building & apparel is all one with the others.

Their desire in this place was most of all to have Manillios and Margarites: as for the rest of our things, they did litle esteeme them.

Their maner of swearing by the water of the Sea.

About nine of the clocke there came boates to us foorth, from both of the places aforesaid, and brought with them certaine teeth, and after they had caused me to sweare by the water of the Sea that I would not hurt them, they came aboord our ship three or foure of them, and we gave them to eate of all such things

as we had, and they did eate and drinke of all things, as well as we our selves. Afterwards we bought all their teeth, which were in number 14. and of those 14. there were 10. small: afterwards they departed, making us signes that the next day we should come to their Townes.

Two townes. The 26. day because we would not trifle long at this place I required the Master to goe unto one of the townes, and to take two of our marchants with him, & I my selfe went to the other, and tooke one with me, because these two townes stand three miles asunder. To these places we caried somewhat of every kinde of marchandize that we had: and hee had at the one Towne, nine teeth, which were but small, and at the other towne [II. ii. 29.] where I was, I had eleven, which were also not bigge, and we left aboord with the Master certaine Manillios, wherewith he bought 12. teeth aboord the ship, in our absence: and having bought these of them, wee perceived that they had no more teeth: so in that place where I was one brought to me a small goat, which I bought, and to the Master at the other place they brought five small hennes, which he bought also, and after that we saw there was nothing else to be had, we departed, and by one of the clocke we met aboord, and then wayed, and went East our course 18. leagues still within sight of land.

The 28. the wind varied, and we ranne into the sea, and the winde comming againe off the sea, wee fell with the land againe, and the first of the land which we raised shewed as a great red cliffe round, but not very high, and to the Eastward of that another smaller red cliffe, and right above that into the land a round hummoke and greene, which we tooke to be trees. We ranne in these 24. houres, not above foure leagues.

The 29. day comming neere to the shoare, we perceived the red cliffe aforesaide to have right upon the top of it a great heape of trees, and all to the Westwards of it ful of red cliffes as farre as we could see, and all

along the shoare, as well upon the cliffes, as otherwise, full of wood: within a mile of the said great cliffe there is a river to the Eastwards, and no cliffes that we could see, except one small cliffe, which is hard by it. We ran this day and night 12. leagues.

The windes that wee had in this place by the reports of the people and of those that have bene there, have not bene usuall, but in the night, at North off the lande, and in the day South off the sea, and most commonly Northwest, and Southwest.

The 31. day we went our course by the shoare Northwards: this land is al along a low shoare, and full of wood, as all the coast is for the most part, and no rockes. This morning came out many boates which went a fishing, which bee greater boates then those which we sawe before, so that in some of them there sate 5. men, but the fashion of the boats is all one. In the afternoone about three of the clocke wee had sight of a Towne by the sea side, which our Pilots judged to be 25. leagues to the Westwards of the Cape Tres puntas.

The third of January in the morning we fell with the Cape Tres puntas, and in the night passed, as our Pilots saide, by one of the Portugals castles, which is 8. leagues to the Westwards of the Cape: upon the first sight of the Cape wee discerned it a very high land, and all growen over with trees, and comming neere to it, we perceived two head lands, as it were two Bayes betwixt them, which opened right to the Westward, and the uttermost of them is the Easterne Cape, there we perceived the middle Cape, and the Eastermost Cape: the middle Cape standeth not above a league from the West Cape, although the Card sheweth them to be 3. leagues one from the other: and that middle Cape hath right before the point of it a small rocke so neere to it, that it cannot be discerned from the Cape, except a man be neere to the shoare, and upon the same Cape standeth a great heape of trees, and when a man is thwart

Cape Tres puntas.

the same Cape to the Eastward, there riseth hard by it a round greene hommoke, which commeth out of the maine.

The thirde Cape is about a league beyond the middle Cape, and is a high land like to the other Capes, and betwixt the middle, and the thirde commeth out a litle head or point of a land out of the maine, and divers rocks hard aboord the shoare.

Before we came to the Capes, being about 8. leagues off them, wee had the land Southeast, and by East, and being past the Capes, the land runneth in againe East Northeast.

About two leagues beyond the farthest Cape there is a lowe glade about two miles long, and then the land riseth high againe, and divers head-lands rise one beyond another, and divers rockes lie at the point of the first head-land. The middest of these Capes is the neerest to the Southwards, I meane, further into the sea then any of the other, so that being to the Eastward of it, it may be discerned farre off, and being so to the Eastward it riseth with two small rockes.

This day we ankered for feare of overshooting a towne called S. Johns. Wee ran this day not above 8. leagues. In the afternoone this day there came a boate of the countrey from the shoare, with five men in her, and went along by us, as we thought, to discerne our flagges, but they would not come neere us, and when they had well looked upon us, they departed.

The fourth day in the morning, sailing by the coast, we espied a ledge of rockes by the shoare, and to the Westwards of them two great greene hils joyning together, so that betweene them it was hollow like a saddle: and within the said rockes the Master thought the aforenamed Towne had stoode, and therefore we manned our boates, and tooke with us cloth, and other marchandize, and rowed ashoare, but going along by the coast, we sawe that there was no towne, therefore wee went aboord againe.

From these two hils aforesaid, about two leagues to the Eastward, lie out into the Sea almost two miles a ledge of rockes, and beyond that a great Bay, which runneth into the North Northwestward, and the land in this place lieth North Northeast along the shoare: but the uttermost point of land in that place that we could see, lay Northeast, and by East from us. [II. ii. 30.]

After that we were with a small gale of winde runne past that uttermost head-land, we sawe a great red cliffe, which the Master againe judged to be the towne of S. Johns, and then wee tooke our boate with marchandize, and went thither, and when we came thither, we perceived that there was a towne upon the toppe of the hill, and so wee went toward it, and when we were hard by it, the people of the towne came together a great sort of them, and waved us to come in, with a peece of cloth, and so we went into a very faire Bay, which lieth to the Eastward of the cliffe, whereupon the towne standeth, and being within the cliffe, wee let fall our grapnell, and after that we had taried there a good space, they sent a boate aboord of us, to shewe us that they had golde, and they shewed us a peece about halfe a crowne weight, and required to know our measure, & our weight, that they might shewe their Captaine thereof: and wee gave them a measure of two elles, and a waight of two Angels to shew unto him, which they tooke, and went on shoare, and shewed it unto their Captaine, and then they brought us a measure of two elles, one quarter and a halfe, and one Crusado-weight of gold, making us signes that so much they would give for the like measure, and lesse they would not have. After this, we taried there about an houre, and when we sawe that they would doe no otherwise, and withall understood, that all the best places were before us, wee departed to our shippes and wayed, and ranne along the shoare, and went before with our boate, and having sailed about a league, we came to a point where there lay foorth a ledge of rockes, like to the others before spoken of,

and being past that people, the Master spied a place which hee saide plainely was the towne of Don John: and the night was come upon us, so that we could not well discerne it, but we ankered as neere unto the place as we could.

The towne of Don John.

The fift day in the morning we perceived it to be the same towne in deede, and we manned our boates and went thither, and because that the last yeere the Portugals at that place tooke away a man from them, and after shot at them with great bases, and did beate them from the place, we let fall our grapnel almost a base shot off the shoare, and there we lay about two houres, and no boats came to us. Then certaine of our men with the Hindes boate went into the Bay which lieth to the Eastward of the towne, and within that Bay they found a goodly fresh river, and afterwards they came and waved to us also to come in, because they perceived the Negroes to come downe to that place, which we did: and immediatly the Negroes came to us, and made us signes that they had golde, but none of them would come aboord our boates, neither could wee perceive any boates that they had to come withall, so that we judged that the Portugals had spoiled their boates, because we saw halfe of their towne destroyed.

Wee having stayed there a good space, and seeing that they would not come to us, thrust our boates heads a shoare, being both well appointed, and then the Captaine of the Towne came downe being a grave man: and he came with his dart in his hand, and sixe tall men after him, every one with his dart & his target, and their darts were all of yron, faire and sharpe, and there came another after them which caried the Captaines stoole: wee saluted him, and put off our caps, and bowed our selves, and hee like one that thought well of himselfe, did not moove his cap, nor scant bowed his body, and sate him downe very solemnly upon his stoole: but all his men put off their caps to us, and bowed downe themselves.

He was clothed from the loines downe with a cloth of that Countrey making, wrapped about him, and made fast about his loynes with a girdle, and his cap of a certaine cloth of the Countrey also, and bare legged, and bare footed, and all bare above the loynes, except his head.

His servants, some of them had cloth about their loines, and some nothing but a cloth betwixt their legges, and made fast before, and behinde to their girdles, and cappes of their owne making, some like a basket, and some like a great wide purse of beasts skinnes.

All their cloth, cordes, girdles, fishing lines, and all such like things which they have, they make of the bark of certaine trees, and thereof they can worke things very pretily, and yron worke they can make very fine, of all such things as they doe occupy, as darts, fishhookes, hooking yrons, yron heads, and great daggers, some of them as long as a woodknife, which be on both sides exceeding sharpe, and bended after the maner of Turkie blades, and the most part of them have hanging at their left side one of those great daggers. *Their weapons.*

Their targets bee made of such pils as their cloth is made of, and very closely wrought, and they bee in forme foure square, and very great, and somewhat longer then they bee broad, so that kneeling downe, they make their targets to cover their whole body. Their bowes be short, and of a pretie strength, as much as a man is able to draw with one of his fingers, and the string is of the barke of a tree, made flat, and about a quarter of an inch broad: as for their arrowes, I have not as yet seene any of them, for they had wrapped them up close, and because I was busie I could not stand about it, to have them open them. Their golde also they worke very well.

When the Captaine was set, I sent him two elles of cloth, and two basons, and gave them unto him, and hee sent againe for a waight of the same measure, and I sent him a weight of two Angels, which he would not take, [II. ii. 31.]

nether would hee suffer the towne to buy any thing, but the basons of brasse: so that wee solde that day 74. basons unto the men of the towne, for about halfe an Angel weight, one with another, and nine white basons, which we solde for a quarter of an Angell a peece, or thereabouts.

We shewed them all our other things which we had, but they did not esteeme them.

About two of the clocke, the Captaine who did depart in the morning from us, came againe, and brought with him to present mee withall, a henne, and two great rootes, which I received, and after made me signes that the countrey would come to his towne that night, and bring great store of gold, which in deed about 4. of the clocke they did: for there came about 100. men under 3. Captaines, well appointed with their darts and bowes, and when they came to us, every man sticked downe his dart upon the shoare, and the Captaines had stooles brought them, and they sate downe, and sent a young man aboord of us, which brought a measure with him of an ell, and one fourth part, and one sixteenth part, and he would have that foure times for a waight of one Angell and twelve graines: I offered him two elles, as I had done before for two Angels weight, which he esteemed nothing, but still stucke at his foure measures aforesaid: yet in the ende, when it grew very late, and I made him signes that I would depart, he came to foure elles for the weight abovesaid, and otherwise he would not deale, and so we departed. This day we tooke for basons sixe ounces and a halfe and one eight part.

The sixt day in the morning we manned our boates and the skiffe well, for feare of the Portugals which the last yeere had taken away a man from the other ships, and went on shoare, and landed, because they had no boates to come to us, and so the young man which was with us the night before was sent aboord, who seemed to have dealt and bargained before with the Portugals for he could speake a litle Portuguise, and was perfect in

weights and measures: at his comming he offered us, as he had done before, one Angell, and twelve graines for foure elles, and more he would not give, and made signes, that if we would not take that, we should depart, which we did: but before we did indeede depart, I offered him of some rotten cloth three elles for his waight of an Angell and twelve graines, which he would not take, and then we departed making signes to him that we would go away, as indeede we would have done, rather then have given that measure, although the cloth was ill, seeing we were so neere to the places, which we judged to be better for sale. Then we went aboord our ships, which lay about a league off, and came backe againe to the shoare for sand and balaste: and then the Captaine perceiving that the boats had brought no marchandize but came onely for water and sand, and seeing that we would depart, came unto them, making signes againe to know whether we would not give the foure elles, and they made signes againe, that we would give them but three, and when they sawe that the boates were ready to depart, they came unto them and gave them the weight of our Angell and twelve graines, which we required before and made signes, that if we would come againe, they would take three elles. So when the boates came aboord, we layde wares in them both, and for the speedier dispatch I and John Savill went in one boat, and the Master John Makeworth, and Richard Curligin, in the other, and went on shoare, and that night I tooke for my part fiftie and two ounces, and in the other boate they tooke eight ounces and a quarter, all by one weight and measure, and so being very late, we departed and went aboord, and tooke in all this day three pound.

The seventh day we went a shoare againe, and that day I tooke in our boate three pound 19 ounces, so that we dispatched almost all the cloth that we caried with us before noone, and then many of the people were departed & those that remained had litle golde, yet they made us signes to fetch them some latten basons, which

I would not because I purposed not to trifle out ye time, but goe thence with speede to Don Johns towne. But John Savill and John Makeworth were desirous to goe againe: and I, loth to hinder them of any profite, consented, but went not my selfe: so they tooke eighteene ounces of gold and came away, seeing that the people at a certaine crie made, were departed.

While they were at the shoare, there came a young fellow which could speake a little Portuguise, with three more with him, and to him I solde 39 basons and two small white sawcers, for three ounces, &c. which was the best reckoning that we did make of any basons: and in the forenoone when I was at the shoare, the Master solde five basons unto the same fellow, for halfe an ounce of golde.

This fellow, as farre as we could perceive, had bene taken into the Castle by the Portugales, and was gotten away from them, for he tolde us that the Portugales were bad men, and that they made them slaves if they could take them, and would put yrons upon their legges, and besides he told us, that as many Frenchmen or Englishmen, as they could take (for he could name these two very well) they would hang them: he told us further, that there were 60 men in the castle, and that every yeere there came thither two shippes, one great, and one small carvell, and further, that Don John had warres with the Portugals, which gave mee the better courage to goe to his towne, which lieth but foure leagues from the Castle, wherehence our men were beaten the last yeere.

[II. ii. 32.]

60. *Portugales in the castle of Mina.*

This fellowe came aboord our shippe without feare, and assoone as he came, he demaunded, why we had not brought againe their men, which the last yeere we tooke away, and could tell us that there were five taken away by Englishmen: we made him answere, that they were in England well used, and were there kept till they could speake the language, and then they should be brought againe to be a helpe to Englishmen in this Countrey: and then he spake no more of that matter.

The English in anno 1554 *tooke away* 5 *Negroes.*

Our boates being come aboord, we wayed and set sayle and a litle after spied a great fire upon the shoare, and by the light of the fire we might discerne a white thing, which they tooke to be the Castle, and for feare of overshooting the towne of Don John we there ankered two leagues off the shoare, for it is hard to fetch up a towne here, if a ship overshoot it. This day we tooke seven pound, and five ounces of golde.

This towne lieth in a great Bay, which is very deepe.

The people in this place desired most to have basons and cloth. They would buy some of them also many trifles, as knives, horsetailes, hornes: and some of our men going a shoare, sold a cap, a dagger, a hat, &c.

They shewed us a certain course cloth, which I thinke to be made in France, for it was course wooll, and a small threed, and as thicke as wosted, and striped with stripes of greene, white, yellow &c. Divers of the people did weare about their neckes great beades of glasse of diverse colours. Here also I learned some of their language, as followeth:

This language seemeth partly to be corrupt.

Mattea, mattea,	Is their salutation.
Dassee, dassee,	I thanke you.
Sheke,	Golde.
Cowrte,	Cut.
Cracca,	Knives.
Bassina,	Basons.
Foco, foco,	Cloth.
Molta,	Much, or great store.

Sight of the castle of Mina.

The eight day in the morning we had sight of the Castle, but by reason of a miste that then fell we could not have the perfect sight of it, till we were almost at the towne of Don John, and then it cleared up, and we saw it and a white house, as it were a Chappell, upon the hill about it: then we halled into the shoare, within two English miles of Don Johns towne, and there ankered in seven fadome water. Here, as in many other places before, we perceived that the currant went with the winde.

The land here is in some places low and in some high, and full of wood altogether.

Don Johns towne described.

The towne of Don John is but litle, of about twentie houses, and the most part of the towne is walled in with a wall of a mans height, made with reede or sedge, or some such thing. Here we staied two or three houres after we had ankered, to see if any man would come unto us: and seeing that none did come, we manned our boates and put in marchandize, and went and ankered with our boates neere to the shoare: then they sent out a man to us who made us signes that that was the towne of Don John, and that he himselfe was in the Countrey, and would be at home at the going downe of the Sunne, and when he had done, he required a reward, as the most part of them will doe which come first aboord, and I gave him one ell of cloth and he departed, and that night we heard no more of him.

The ninth day in the morning we went againe with our boates to the shoare, and there came foorth a boate to us, who made signes that Don John was not come home, but would be at home this day: and to that place also came another boate from the other towne a mile from this, which is called Don Devis, and brought with him gold to shew us, making signes that we should come thither. I then left in this place John Savill, and John Makeworth, and tooke the Hinde, and went to the other towne and there ankered, and tooke cloth and went to shore with the boate, and by and by the boates came to us and brought a measure of foure yards long & a halfe, and shewed us a weight of an angell and twelve graines, which they would give for so much, and not otherwise: so I staied and made no bargaine. And [II. ii. 33.] all this day the barke lay at Don Johns towne, and did nothing, having answere that he was not come home.

The tenth day we went againe to the shoare, and there came out a boat with good store of gold, and having driven the matter off a long time, and having

brought the measure to a nayle lesse then three elles, and their weight to an angell and twentie graines, and could not bring them to more, I did conclude with them and solde, and within one quarter of an houre I tooke one pound and a quarter of an ounce of golde: and then they made me signes to tary, till they had parted their cloth upon the shoare as their manner is, and they would come againe, and so they went away, and layde the cloth all abroad upon the sande peece by peece, and by and by one came running downe from the towne to them, and spake unto them, and foorthwith every man made as much haste as he could away, and went into the woods to hide his golde and his cloth: we mistrusted some knavery, and being waved by them to come a shoare, yet we would not, but went aboorde the Hinde, and perceived upon the hill 30 men which we judged to be Portugals: and they went up to the toppe of the hill and there mustered and shewed themselves, having a flagge with them. Then I being desirous to knowe what the Hart did, tooke the Hindes boate and went towards her, and when I came neere to them they shot off two pieces of ordinance which I marveiled at: I made as much haste as I could to her, and met her boate and skiffe comming from the shoare in all haste, and we met aboord together. They shewed me that they had beene a shoare all that day, and had given to the two sonnes of Don John, to either of them three yardes and a halfe of cloth, and three basons betwixt them, and had delivered him 3 yards of cloth more and the weight of an angell and 12 graines, and being on land did tarie for his answere, and in the meane time the Portugals came running from the hill upon them, whereof the Negroes a litle before had given them warning, and bad them to go away but they perceived it not. The sonne of Don John conspired with the Portugales against them, so that they were almost upon them, but yet they recovered their boate and set off from the shoare, and the Portugales shot their

The Portugales of the castle of Mina invaded our men.

calievers at them, but hurt no man, and then the shippe perceiving it, shot off the two peeces aforesayde among them. Hereupon we layde bases in both the boates, and in the Skiffe and manned them well, and went a shoare againe, but because of the winde we could not land, but lay off in the sea about ten score and shot at them, but the hill succoured them, and they from the rockes and from the hilles shotte at us with their halfe hakes, and the Negroes more for feare then for love stoode by them to helpe them, and when we saw that the Negroes were in such subjection unto them that they durst not sell us any thing for feare of them we went aboord, and that night the winde kept at the East, so that we could not with our ship fetch the Hinde, but I tooke the boate in the night and went aboord the barke to see what was there to be done, and in the morning we perceived the towne to be in like case layde with Portugales, so we wayed and went along the coast. This towne of John de Viso standeth upon an hill like the towne of Don John, but it hath beene burned, so that there are not passing sixe houses in it: the most part of the golde that comes thither comes out of the countrey, and no doubt if the people durst for feare of the Portugals bring forth their gold, there would be had good store: but they dare not sell any thing, their subjection is so great to the Portugales. The 11 day running by the shoare we had sight of a litle towne foure leagues from the last towne that we came from, and about halfe a league from that, of another towne upon a hill, and halfe a league from that also of another great towne upon the shoare: whither we went to see what could there be done: if we could doe nothing, then to returne to the other towne, because we thought that the Portugales would leave the towne upon our departure. Along from the castle unto this place are very high hilles which may be seene above all other hilles, but they are full of wood, and great red cliffes by the sea side.

The towne of Don John de Viso.

The boates of these places are somewhat large and bigge, for one of them will carrie twelve men, but their forme is alike with the former boates of the coast. There are about these townes few rivers: their language differeth not from the language used at Don Johns towne: but every one can speake three or foure words of Portuguise, which they used altogether to us.

We sawe this night about 5 of the clocke 22 boates running along the shoare to the Westward, whereupon we suspected some knavery intended against us. The 12 day therefore we set sayle and went further along the coast, and descried more townes wherein were greater houses then in the other townes, and the people came out of the townes to looke upon us, but we could see no boates. Two mile beyond the Eastermost towne are blacke rocks, which blacke rockes continue to the uttermost cape of the land, which is about a league off, and then the land runnes in Eastnortheast, and a sandy shoare againe: upon these blacke rockes came downe certaine Negroes, which waved us with a white flagge, but we perceiving the principall place to be neere, would not stay, but bare still along the shoare: and as soone as we had opened the point of the land, we raysed another head-land about a league off the point, which had a rocke lying off it into the sea, and that they thought to be the [II. ii. 34.] place which we sought. When we came thwart the place they knew it, and we put wares into our boate, and the ship being within halfe a mile of the place ankered in five fadome water and faire ground. We went on shoare with our boate, and ankered about ten of the clocke in the forenoone: we saw many boates lying upon the shoare, and divers came by us, but none of them would come neere us, being as we judged afraid of us: because that foure men were taken perforce the last yeere from this *Foure men taken away by the English.* place, so that no man came to us, whereupon we went aboord againe, and thought here to have made no saile: yet towardes night a great sort came downe to the water side, and waved us on shoare with a white flagge, and

afterwarde their Captaine came downe and many men with him, and sate him downe by the shore under a tree: which when I perceived, I tooke things with me to give him: at last he sent a boat to call to us, which would not come neere us, but made us signes to come againe the next day: but in fine, I got them to come aboord in offering them things to give to their captaine, which were two elles of cloth, one latten bason, one white bason, a bottle, a great piece of beefe, and sixe bisket cakes, which they received making us signes to come againe the next day, saying, that their Captain was Grand Capitane as appeared by those that attended upon him with their darts and targets, and other weapons.

A great towne. This towne is very great and stands upon a hill among trees, so that it cannot well be seene except a man be neere it: to the Eastward of it upon the hill hard by the towne stand 2. high trees, which is a good marke to knowe the towne. And under the towne lieth another hill lower then it, whereupon the sea beates: and that end next the sea is all great blacke rockes, and beyonde the towne in a bay lieth another small towne.

The 13 day in the morning we tooke our boate and went to shoare, and stayed till ten a clocke and no man came to us: we went about therefore to returne aboord, and when the Negroes saw that, they came running downe with a flagge to wave us againe, so we ankered againe, and then one shewed us that the Captaine would come downe by and by: we saw a saile in the meane time passe by us but it was small, and we regarded it not. Being on shore wee made a tilt with our oares and sayle, and then there came a boate to us with five men in her, who brought us againe our bottle, and brought me a hen, making signes by the sunne, that within two houres the marchants of the country would come downe and buy all that we had: so I gave them sixe Manillios to carry to their Captaine, and they made signes to have a pledge of us, and they would leave us another man: and we willing to doe so, put one of our men in their

The like they doe in the countrey of Prete Janni.

boate, but they would not give us one of theirs, so we tooke our man againe, and there tarried for the marchants: and shortly after one came downe arrayed like their Captaine with a great traine after him, who saluted us friendly, and one of the chiefest of them went and sate downe under a tree, where the last yere the Captaine was wont to sit: and at last we perceived a great many of them to stand at the ende of a hollow way, and behinde them the Portugales had planted a base, who suddenly shotte at us but overshot us, and yet we were in a manner hard by them, and they shot at us againe before we could ship our oares to get away but did no hurt. Then the Negroes came to the rocks hard by us, and discharged calievers at us, and againe the Portugales shot off their base twise more, and then our ship shot at them, but the rockes and hilles defended them.

Master Robert Gainshes voyage to Guinea in anno 1554.

Then we went aboord to goe from this place, seeing the Negroes bent against us, because that the last yeere M. Gainsh did take away the Captaines sonne and three others from this place with their golde, and all that they had about them: which was the cause that they became friends with the Portugales, whom before they hated, as did appeare the last yeere by the courteous intertainement which the Trinitie had there, when the Captaine came aboord the shippe, and brought them to his towne, and offered them ground to build a Castle in, and there they had good sales.

The English were offered to build a towne in Guine.

The 14 day we wayed and plyed backe againe to seeke the Hinde, which in the morning we met, and so we turned both backe to the Eastwardes to see what we could doe at that place where the Trinitie did sell her eight frises the last yeere. The Hinde had taken eighteene ounces and a halfe more of golde of other Negroes, the day after that we left them. This day about one of the clocke we espied certaine boates upon the sand and men by them and went to them with marchandizes, and tooke three ounces of gold for 18 fuffs of cloth, every fuffe three yards and a halfe after one angell and 12

graines the fuffe, and then they made me signes that the next day I should have golde enough: so the Master tooke the Hinde with John Savill and John Makeworth, and went to seeke the place aforesaid, &. I with Richard Pakeman remained in this place to see what we could do the next day: and when the Negroes perceived our ship to go away, they feared that the other would follow, & so sent forth 2 boats to us with 4 men in them, requiring us to tary & to give them one man for a pledge, and 2 of them should tary with us for him, so Edward M. Morleis
[II. ii. 35.] servant seeing these men so earnest therein offered himselfe to be pledge, and we let him goe for two of them, one whereof had his waights and scales, and a chaine of golde aboute his necke, and another about his arme. They did eate of such things as we had and were well contented. In the night the Negroes kept a light upon the shoare thwart of us, and about one of the clocke we heard and saw the light of a base which shot off twise at the said light, and by and by discharged two calievers,
A Portugale Brigandine. which in the end we perceived to be the Portugals brigandine which followed us from place to place, to give warning to the people of the countrey, that they should not deale with us.

The 15 day in the morning the Captaine came downe with 100 men with him, and brought his wife, and many others brought their wives also, because their towne was 8 miles up in the countrey, and they determined to lie by the sea side till they had bought what they would. When he was come he sent our man aboord, and required to have two men pledges, and he himselfe would come aboord, and I sent him two, of whom he tooke but one, and so came aboord us, he and his wife with divers of his friends, and brought me a goate and two great rootes, and I gave him againe a latten bason, a white bason, 6 manillios, and a bottell of Malmesie, and to his wife a small casket. After this we began to make our measure and weight: and he had a weight of his owne which held one angell and 14 graines, and required a measure of 4

elles and a halfe. In fine we concluded the 8 part for one angell and 20 graines, and before we had done, they tooke mine owne weight and measure.

The 16 day I tooke 8 li. 1 ounce of gold: and since the departure of the Hinde I heard not of her, but when our pledge went into the countrey the first night, he said he saw her cast anker about five leagues from this place. The 17 day I sold about 17 pieces of cloth, & tooke 4. li. 4 ounces and a halfe of gold. The 18 day the captaine desired to have some of our wine, and offered halfe a ducket of gold for a bottell: but I gave it him freely, and made him and his traine drinke besides. And this day also I tooke 5 li. 5 ounces of gold. The 19 day we sold about 18 clothes, and tooke 4 li. 4. ounces and one quarter of golde.

The 20 day we tooke 3 li. sixe ounces and a quarter of golde. The 21 we tooke 8. li. 7. ounces and a quarter. The 22. 3. li. 8. ounces and a quarter. And this night about 4 of the clocke the Captaine who had layen all this while upon the shoare, went away with all the rest of the people with him.

The 23 day we were waved a shoare by other Negroes, and sold them cloth, caskets, knives, and a dosen of bels, and tooke 1. li. 10. ounces of gold. The 24 likewise we sold bels, sheetes, and thimbles, and tooke two li. one ounce and a quarter of gold. The 25 day we sold 7 dosen of smal bels and other things, and then perceiving their gold to be done, we wayed and set sayle & went to leeward to seeke the Hinde, and about 5 of the clocke at night we had sight of her, and bare with her, and understood that shee had made some sales. The 26 day wee received out of the Hinde 48 li. 3 ounces and one eight part of golde, which they had taken in the time that we were from them. And this day upon the request of a Negro that came unto us from a captaine, we went to shoare with our marchandize, and tooke 7 li. and one ounce of gold. At this place they required no gages of us, but at night they sent a man aboord us, which lay

with us all night, because we might knowe that they would also come to us the next day. The 27 day in both our shippes we tooke 8. li. one ounce, three quarters and halfe a quarter of golde. The 28 we made sales for the companie, and tooke one pound and halfe an ounce of gold. The 29 day in the morning we heard two calievers shot off upon the shore, which we judged to be either by the Portugales or by the Negroes of the Portugales: we manned our boates and armed our selves and went to shoare, but could finde nothing: for they were gone. The 30 day we made more sales for the companie and for the Masters.

The 31 we sent our boate to shoare to take in sand for balast, and there our men met the Negroes, with whom they had made sale the day before a fishing which did helpe them to fill sand, and having no gold, sold fish to our men for their handkerchiefes and nightkerchiefes.

Februarie. The 1. day of February we wayed and went to another place, and tooke 1. li. 9. ounces 3 quarters of gold. The 2 day we made more sales: but having viewed our victuals, we determined to tarie no long time upon the coast, because the most part of our drinke was spent, & that which remained grew sowre. The 3 and 4 dayes we made some sales, though not great, and finding the wind this 4. day to come off the shoare, we set saile and ranne along the shoare to the Westwards: upon this coast we found by experience that ordinarily about 2 of the clocke in the night the winde comes off the shoare at Northnortheast, and so continueth untill eight of the clocke in the morning: and all the rest of the day and night it comes out of the Southwest: and as for the tide or currant upon this shore, it goeth continually with the winde. The 5 day we continued sayling and thought to have met with some English ships, but found none.

They returne for England.

[II. ii. 36.] The sixt day we went our course Southwest to fetch under the line, and ranne by estimation 24 leagues.

The 13 day wee thought our selves by our reckoning

to be cleare off the Cape das Palmas, and ranne 12 leagues.

The 22 day we were thwart of the Cape de Monte, which is to the Westward of the River de Sestos, about 30 leagues. *Cape de Monte.*

The first day of March in a Ternado we lost the Hinde, whereupon we set up a light and shot off a piece but could not heare of her, so that then we strooke our saile and taried for her, and in the morning had sight of her againe three leagues a sterne off us. *March.*

Upon the 22 day we found our selves to be in the height of Cape Verde, which stands in 14. degrees and a halfe. *Cape Verde in latitude 14 degrees & a halfe.*

From this day till the 29 day we continued our course, and then we found our selves to be in 22 degrees. This day one of our men called William King, who had bene long sicke, died in his sleepe, his apparell was distributed to those that lackt it, and his money was kept for his friends to be delivered them at his comming home.

The 30 day we found our selves to be under the Tropike.

The 31 day we went our course, and made way 18 leagues.

From the first day of Aprill to the 20 we went our course, and then found our selves to bee in the height of the Asores. *Aprill.*

The seventh day of May we fell with the South part of Ireland, and going on shoare with our boate had fresh drinke, and two sheepe of the countrey people, which were wilde Kernes, and we gave them golde for them, and bought further such other victuals as we had neede of, and thought would serve us till we arrived in England. *May.*

The 14 day with the afternoone tide we went into the Port of Bristoll called Hungrode, and there ankered in safetie and gave thankes to God for our safe arrivall. *Their arrivall at Bristoll.*

The second voyage made by Maister William Towrson to the coast of Guinea, and the Castle of Mina, in the yeere 1556. with the Tiger of London, a ship of 120 tunnes, the Hart of London of 60 tunnes, and a Pinnesse of sixteene tunnes.

THE fourteenth day of September, the yeere abovesayd, we departed from Harwich, and directed our course for the Isle of Sillie, to meete there with the Hart and Pinnesse, which were rigged and victualed at Bristoll, but arriving there the eight and twentieth day we found them not, and therefore after long lying at hull to tarrie for them, but not espying them, we turned backe to Plimmouth the 12 day of October, and being there, the Hart and the Pinnesse came to us, so that the

November. 15 of November we all departed together from Plimmouth at one of the clocke in the after noone, and the 28 day we had sight of the Isle of Porto Santo, and the next day in the morning of Madera.

December. The third day of December we fell with the Ile of Palma, and the 9 we were thwart of Cape Blanke, and found there certaine Caravels fishing for Pargoes.

Sierra Leona. The 19 we found our selves in the height of Sierra Leona, and all this day we ranne thwart of certaine Currants, which did set to the West Southwestward so fast as if it had bene the overfall of a sand, making a great noyse like unto a streame or tide-gate when the water is shoale: and to proove whither we could finde ground in this place, we sounded and had 150 fadome, and no ground, and so departed.

The 30 of December we fell with the coast of Guinea, and had first sight of it about 4 leagues off. The best marke that we could take of the place to knowe it was three hilles, which lay Northeast and by East from us:

betwixt the Nothermost two hilles there are two high and great trees standing in sight as it were a sailes breadth one from another, and a litle more to the Northwestwards are certaine hommocks. Having sayled somewhat into the shoare wee tooke our selves to be shotte somewhat past the river de Sestos, so that we kept about to fetch it. And a litle after we had sight of three sayles of shippes and two pinnesses which were in the weather of us, and having sight of them we made our selves readie to meete them, and halled off our ships to fetch the winde as neere as we could: and having sayled about an houre or two, they also went about, and went as we went to make themselves readie, and when we had them in chase, they went away from us: but when they had made themselves readie, they kept about againe, and came with us verie finely appointed with their streamers, and pendants and ensignes, and noyse of trumpets very bravely: so when we met, they had the weather of us, and we being determined to fight, if they had bene Portugals, waved them to come under our Lee, which they denied stoutly: then we demaunded of them whence they were, and they sayd of France, we told them againe that we were of London in England. They asked of us what Portugals wee had seene, we answered, none but Fishermen: then they told us that there were certaine Portugall ships gone to the Mina to defend it, and that they met with another at the river de Sestos, which was a ship of two hundred which they had burned, and had saved none but the master and two or three Negroes, and certaine others which were sore burned which they left a shore there. Then they desired to come aboord of us with their boates to talke with us, and wee gave them leave. Then the captaine of the Admirall and divers others came aboord very friendly, desiring us to keepe them company because of the Portugals, and to goe to the Mina with them: wee told them that we had not watered, and that we were but now fallen with the coast, and they shewed us that

[II. ii. 37.]

The river of Sestos.

we were fiftie leagues past the river de Sestos: notwithstanding there was water enough to be had, and they would helpe us to water with their owne boats because they would have our companie. And told us further, that they had bene sixe weekes upon the coast, and had gotten but three tunnes of graines amongst them all: and when wee had heard them, we made our reckoning that although the Mina were cleare, yet if they did goe before us, they would marre our market; and if it were not cleare, then if the Portugals were there and did take them, they would understand that we were behind, and so would waite for us. And further we made account that if we went with them we should doe as well as they, if the coast were cleare: if it were not cleare, then by them we were assured to be the stronger. Therefore having considered thus much of their gentle offers, wee told them that the next day wee would conferre more largely of the matter. Whereupon they desired me to come the next day to dinner to them, and to bring the masters of our ships with me, and such marchants as I thought good, promising to give us water out of their owne ships if we would take it, or els to tarie with us and helpe us to water with their own boats and pinnasses.

They admit certaine Frenchmen into their companie.

The 31 day in the morning the Admirall sent his boat aboord for me, and I tooke our masters and certaine of our marchants and went to him, who had provided a notable banquet for us, and intreated us very friendly, desiring us still to keepe his company, promising that what victuals were in his ships, or other things that might doe us pleasure untill the end, we should have the one halfe of it, offering us if we would to furle his Flags, and to bee at our commaundement in all things.

In the ende we agreed to come to an anker, and to send our boat on shore with the Admirals boat, and one of his pinnasses, and an Almaine which they had brought out of France, to seeke water, as for our pinnasse she

came to an anker to seaward of us all, and would not come at us. All this night the boats continued on shore.

The first day of January our boats came to us againe and had found no river. Whereupon we weighed and set saile, and ankred againe at another river.

The 2 day we went into the river and bargained, and tooke 5 small Elephants teeth.

The 3 day we tooke 5 more.

An assault upon elephants.

The fourth day the French Admirall and we tooke fifteene small teeth. This day wee tooke thirtie men with us and went to seeke Elephants, our men being all well armed with harquebusses, pikes, long bowes, crossebowes, partizans, long swordes, and swordes and bucklers: wee found two Elephants which wee stroke divers times with harquebusses and long bowes, but they went away from us and hurt one of our men. The fift day we set saile and ranne along the coast.

Rio de S. Andre.

The 6 day we fell with the river de S. Andre, at which place the land is somewhat high to the Westward of the river, and a faire Baie also to the Westward of it: but to the Eastward of it it is lowe land.

The 7 day we went into the River and found no village, but certaine wild Negros not accustomed to trade. It is a very great river and 7 fadome water in some places at the entring. Here we filled water, and after set saile.

The 8 day we sailed along the shore and came to the Red cliffes, and went forward in sailing the 9 day also.

Captaine Blundel the French Admirall.

The 10 day we came together to confer with captaine Blundel Admiral of the French ships, Jerom Baudet his vice admiral, and John de Orleans master of a ship of 70 tunne, and with their marchants, and agreed that when God should send us to any place where wee might make sale, that we should be of one accord and not one of us hurt the market of the other, but certaine of our boates to make the price for all the rest, and then

[II. ii. 38.] one boate to make sale for every shippe. This night our boats going to the shore met with certaine Negros, who said that they had gold, and therefore we here cast anker.

The 11 day all the day we tooke but one halfe angel weight of 4 graines, which we tooke by hand, for the people of this place had no weight: the Negros called this place Allow.

Allow.

The 12 day we ran along the coast and found but one towne, but no boates would come out to us, and therefore we went our course.

The 13 day I tooke my boat and went along the shore, and passed by divers small townes, and was waved to come on shore at 3 places, but the sea went so high upon the shore, that it was not possible for us to land, neither could they come to us if they had had boats, as I could see none but at one place, where there was one that would have come unto us, but the Land-wash went so sore that it overthrew his boat, and one of the men was drowned, which the people lamented, and cried so sore, that we might easily heare them, and they got his body out of the sea, and caried it amongst them to their towne.

The 14 day we came within Saker-shot of the castle, & straightway they set forth an Almade to descry us, and when they perceived that we were no Portugals, they ranne within the towne againe: for there is a great towne by the Castle which is called by the Negros Dondou. Without this there lie two great rockes like Ilands, and the castle standeth upon a point which sheweth almost like an Iland. Before we came at this castle, we found the land for five or six leagues to be high land, and about seven leagues before we came to the castle, lowe land, until we came at the castle, and then wee found the land high againe. This castle standeth about five leagues to the East of Cape de Tres puntas. Here I tooke the boate with our Negros and ranne alongst the shore till I came to the Cape

Dondou a great towne.

The castle of Mina.

Cape de Tres puntas.

and found two small townes, but no boates at them, neither any traffique to be had. At these places our Negros did understand them well, and one of them went a shore at all the places and was well received of them. This night we ankred at the Cape de Tres puntas.

The 15 day I tooke our boat and went along the shore, & about 3 leagues beyond the Eastermost part of the Cape we found a faire Bay where we ran in, and found a smal towne and certaine boates which belonged to the same towne, but the Negros in a long time would not come to us, but at the last by the perswasion of our owne Negros, one boat came to us, and with him we sent George our Negro a shore, and after he had talked with them, they came aboord our boates without feare, and I gave to their captaine a bason, and two strings of Margarets, and they shewed us about 5 duckats weight of gold, but they required so much for it that wee would not take it, because the Frenchmen and we had agreed to make price of our goods all in one boat, and the price being made then every man to sell in his owne boat, and no man to give more then the price which should be set by us al. This place is called Bulle, and here the Negros were very glad of *Bulle.* our Negros, and shewed them all the friendship they could, when they had told them that they were the men that were taken away being now againe brought by us.

The Negros here shewed us that a moneth since there were 3 ships that fought together, & the two shippes put the other to flight: and before that at the castle of Mina there were 4 ships of the Portugals which met with one Frenchman, which Frenchman caused them all to flee, which shippe we tooke to be the Roebarge: for the Frenchmen of our company judged her to be thereabout that time with her pinnasse also. And further, that after her went a shippe of twelve score named the Shaudet all alone, and after her a ship of fourescore, and both for the Mina. And there were two others also

which they left, one at Cape Verde called the Leuriere of Diepe, and another at the river De Sestos, besides these 3 which all this time be in our company, whose names be these:

The Espoier of Hableneff which is the Admirall, whose captaine is Denis Blundell.

The Leuriere of Roan Viceadmirall, whose master is Jerome Baudet.

The other is of Hunfleur whose master is called John de Orleans.

The sixteenth day I went along the shore with two pinnasses of the Frenchmen, and found a Baie and a *Hanta.* fresh river, and after that went to a towne called Hanta, twelve leagues beyond the Cape. At this towne our Negros were well knowen, and the men of the towne wept for joy when they saw them, and demanded of them where Anthonie and Binne had bene: and they told them that they had bene at London in England, and should bee brought home the next voyage. So after this, our Negros came aboord with other Negros which brought a weight with them, which was so small that wee could not give them the halfe of that which they demaunded for it.

The Negros here told us that there were five Portugall shippes at the Castle and one pinnasse, and that the Portugals did much harme to their Countrey, and that [II. ii. 39.] they lived in feare of them, and we told them againe, that we would defend them from the Portugals whereof they were very glad.

The 17 day we went a shore and the Frenchmen with us, but did no great good, the Negros were so unreasonable, we sold 80 Manellios for one ounce of gold.

Shamma. Then wee departed and went to Shamma, and went into the river with five boates well appointed with men and ordinance, and with our noises of trumpets and drummes, for we thought here to have found some Portugals but there were none: so wee sent our Negros on shore, and after them went divers of us, and were

very well received, and the people were very glad of our Negros, specially one of their brothers wives, and one of their aunts, which received them with much joy, and so did all the rest of the people, as if they had bene their naturall brethren: we comforted the captaine and told him that hee should not feare the Portugals, for wee would defend him from them: whereupon we caused our boats to shoote off their bases and harquebusses, and caused our men to come on shore with their long bowes, and they shot before the captaine, which he, with all the rest of the people, wondred much at, specially to see them shoot so farre as they did, and assaied to draw their bowes but could not. When it grew to be late, we departed to our ships, for we looked every houre for the Portugals. * And here the Negros shewed us that there was an English ship at the Mina, which had brought one of the Negros againe, which Robert Gaynsh tooke away.

The Negros brought home by our men.

** Note.*

Robert Gaynsh.

The 18 day we went into the river with no lesse strength then before, and concluded with the Negros to give them for every Fuffe two yards and three nailes of Cloth, and to take for it one angel-duckat: so that we tooke in all 70 Duckats, whereof the Frenchmen had fortie, and wee thirtie.

The nineteenth day wee went a shore every man for himselfe, and tooke a good quantitie of gold, and I for my part tooke foure pound and two ounces and a halfe of gold, and our Hartes boate tooke one and twentie ounces. At night the Negros shewed us that the next day the Portugals would be with us by land or by Sea: and when wee were ready to depart, we heard divers harquebusses shoote off in the woods by us which wee knew to bee Portugals, which durst come no nearer to us, but shot off in the woods to see if they could feare us and so make us to leave our traffique.

The 20 day we manned our five boats, and also a great boat of the Frenchmens with our men and the Admirals, 12 of them in their murrians and corslets, and

the rest all well appoynted, with foure trumpets, a drumme and a Fife, and the boate all hanged with streamers of Silke and pendants very faire, and went into the river and traffiqued, our man of warre lying off and on in the river to waft us, but we heard no more of the Portugals. This day the Negros told us that there were *Hanta.* certain ships come into Hanta, which towne is about 2 leagues to the Westward of this place.

This 21 day we manned our boats againe & went to a place a league from this to the Westwards, and there found many Negros with another Captaine, and sold at the same rate that wee had done with the others.

The 22 day we went a shore againe and traffiqued in like sort quietly, and I tooke 4 pound and six ounces of gold.

The 23 day about night the Negros with their captaine came to us and told us that the king of Portugals ships were departed from the Castle, meaning the next day to plie to the windward to come to us, giving us warning to take heed to our selves: we told them againe that wee were very glad of their comming, and would be ready at all times to meet them, and to assure them that we were glad of it, wee sounded our trumpets, and shot off certaine bases whereof the Negros were very glad, and requested us that if the Portugals sought to hinder our traffique, to shew them all the extremitie that we could, promising us that if they came by land, they would advertise us thereof.

The 24 we went a shore with our trumpets and drummes, and traffiqued, and I bade the captaine of the towne to dinner.

Five sailes of Portingals descried. The 25 day we being a shore, our ships had descried five sailes of the king of Portugals, & our ships shot off ordinance to call us away, and we threw every man his caske a shore for water, and went to our ships, and by that time we had weighed and given order one to another what to do, it was night, so y^{t} that night nothing was done. We set saile and lay close all night to get the

wind if we could: we were neere some of them, and one shot off a piece which wee judged to be the Admirall of the Portugals, to cause the rest to come and speake with him: so all this night we made our selves ready for fight.

The 26 we came in with the shore and had sight of the Portugals where they rid at anker, and we bare with them, and we gave all our men white scarffes, to the ende that the Frenchmen might know one the other if we came [II. ii. 40.] to boording: but the night came upon us that we could not fetch them, but we ankered within demie-Culvering shot of them.

The 27 day we weighed and so did the Portugals, and about eleven of the clocke wee had the wind of them, and then we went roome with them, which when they perceived, they kept about to the shore againe, and wee after them, and when they were so neere the shore that they could not well runne any further on that boord, they kept about againe, and lay to the Seaward, and then we kept about with them, and were a head of them, and tooke in our topsailes and taried for them: and the first that came up was a small barke which sailed so well that she cared not for any of us, and caried good ordinance: and assoone as she came up, she shot at us, and overshot us, and then she shot at the Admirall of the Frenchmen, and shot him through in two or three places, and went foorth a head of us, because we were in our fighting sailes: then came up another caravell under our Lee in like case which shot at us and at the Frenchman, and hurt two of his men and shot him through the maine maste. And after them came up the Admirall under our Lee also, but he was not able to doe us so much harme as the small shippes, because he caried ordinance higher then they, neither were we able to make a good shot at any of them, because our shippe was so weake in the side, that she laid all her ordinance in the Sea: wherefore we thought to lay the great ship aboord, and as soone as the French Admirall went roome with

The fight with the Portugals.

The French forsake our men.

him, he fell a sterne and could not fetch him, and after he fell a sterne of two caravels more and could fetch none of them, but fell to Leeward of them all: and when he was to Leeward, he kept about to the shoreward, and left us, and then we put out our topsailes and gave them chase, and both the other Frenchmen kept the wind, and would not come neere us, and our owne ship was a sterne so that she could not come to us: and after we had folowed them about two houres to the seaward, they kept about againe towards the shore, thinking to pay us as they went along by, and to have the wind of the French Admirall which before ran in towards the shore, and we kept about with them, and kept still the wind of them thinking that our Viceadmiral and the other would have folowed us as wee willed them to do: but after that the Portugall was past by them, and every one had shot at us and our Viceadmirall, both our Viceadmirall and the two Frenchmen, & our owne pinnasse left us in the laps, and ran to seaward, and we ran still along, and kept the wind of them to succour the French Admirall, who was under all of their Lees, and when they met with him, every one went roome with him, and gave him the broad side, and after they cast about againe, and durst not boord him, because they sawe us in the weather of them, or els without doubt they had taken or sunke them, for three of them which were the smallest, went so fast that it was not possible for a ship to boord them, and caried such ordinance that if they had had the weather of us, they would have troubled 3 of the best ships that we had, and as for their Admirall and Viceadmirall they were both notablie appointed.

When the Frenchman was cleare of them, hee laie as neere the winde as hee could, and wee followed them still towardes the shore, and then the Admirall ranne to Sea after the rest, and left us all alone: and when the Portugals perceived that we were alone, and gave them chase, they kept about with us and we with them, to keepe the wind of them, and we ranne still within base

shot of them, but they shot not at us, because we had the weather of them, and sawe that they could do us no hurt: and thus we folowed one another until night, and in the night we lost them, but as for all the rest of our ships, they packed on all the sailes that they could and ranne to sea, and as they themselves confesse, they praied for us, but as for helpe at their hands we could have none.

The 28 day we met with our Viceadmirall, our pinnasse, and two of the Frenchmen, and the third was fled which was a ship of fourscore tunne, and belonged to Roan: and when I had the sight of the rest of our ships, I tooke our skiffe and went to them to know why they lost us in such a case, and John Kire made me answere that his ship would neither reare nor steere, and as for the pinnasse, John Davis made me answere that she would doe nothing, and that he could cary her no further, for her rudder was broken, so that the Hart was glad to towe her. Then I went to the French Admirall, and found himselfe to be a man of good stomacke, but the one halfe of his men were sicke and dead: and then I talked with the smaller Frenchman, and he made mee answere that he could doe nothing, saying, that his ship would beare no saile, and had 16 of his men dead and sicke, so he made us plaine answere that he was able to doe nothing. After this the Frenchmen durst not anker for feare of the Portugales.

The 29 day the master of the pinnasse came to us and sayd that they were not able to keepe her any longer, and then wee viewed her and seeing there was no remedie, her rudder with all the iron worke being broken both aloft and belowe, wee agreed to breake her up and to put the men into the Hart. So we tooke out [II. ii. 41.] of her foure bases, one anker, and certaine fire wood, and set her on fire, and afterwards ran along the coast.

The thirtie day we went in to the shore, and spake with certaine Negros, who told us that some French

shippes had bene there, but wee could not bargaine with them they were so unreasonable.

The 31 day I went to shore but did not traffike.

Februarie. The 1 day of Februarie we weighed, seeing we could not bring the Negros to any reason, and came to another place which standeth upon an hill.

The third day I went to a towne foure leagues from us, and shot off two pieces, and the Captaine came to us, and I sent Thomas Rippen a land who knew the Captaine, and assoone as he came on shore the Captaine knew him and divers of the Negros who then began to aske for mee, and having told the Captaine that I was in the boate, hee made no longer tarying but by and by caused two boates to be put to the Sea, and came to me himselfe, and when he sawe me, he cryed to me before hee came to the boat and seemed to be the gladdest man alive, and so did all the companie that knew mee, and I gave him a reward as the maner of the Countrey is, and caused the Frenchmen to give another, promising the next day to give him wine: and that night because it was late, he would not talke of any price, but left me a pledge, and tooke another of me and so departed.

The 4 day going on shore, I found that the ships of France which had bin there, had done much hurt to our markets, but yet I tooke five ounces and a halfe of gold.

The fift day I tooke eight ounces and one eight part of gold: but I saw that the Negros perceived the difference in Cloth betwixt ours and that which the Frenchmen had, which was better, and broader then ours: and then I told captaine Blundel that I would goe to the Leeward, because I perceived that being there where his Cloth was sold, I should do no good, whereof hee was sorie.

The 6 day there came an Almade & Negros aboord me, requesting me to come to their towne for they had much gold and many marchants: and so I went and found their old Captaine gone, and another in his place: but this night wee did no good, because the marchants

were not come downe: so he required a pledge which I let him have, and tooke another of him.

George our Negro.

The 7 day George our Negro came to us, who had followed us at the least 30 leagues in a small boat, and when he came, the Negros and we soone concluded of price. I tooke this day five pound and one ounce, and 3 quarters of gold. This Negro we had left at Shamma at the time of the fight, who said that he saw the fight being on shore, and that when we were gone from the Portugals, the Portugals came into their river, and told them that the Englishmen had slaine two Portugals with a piece, which was in deed out of our ship, and they required harbour there, but the captaine of Shamma would not suffer them.

Two Portugals slaine by the English.

The 8 day we tooke nineteene pound three ounces and a halfe.

The 9 day we tooke two pound six ounces and a halfe.

The 10 day three pound.

The 11 day came to us Jerome Bawdet the Vice-admirall of the Frenchmen and his pinnasse, and he shewed us that where we left them there was no good to be done, and sayd he would goe to the Eastward, but wee told him hee should not: and thereupon commaunded him to goe to his company which he was appointed to bee with, which hee refused to doe untill wee had shot three or foure pieces at their pinnasse, and when the ship sawe that, she kept about, and ranne to Seaward, and durst come no neerer to us, so the pinnasse went after her. We tooke this day one pound five ounces.

The Frenchmen bridled by the English.

The 12 day there came one of the Frenchmens pinnasses to us laden with cloth, and would have made sale, but I would not suffer him, and therefore tooke him and sent him aboord of our ship, and caused him to ride there all day. We tooke five pound six ounces and a halfe.

The 14 day we tooke of some Negros 4 ounces of gold.

The 16 we came to another towne.

The 17 day I went a shore and understood that 3 of the Portugall ships were at the Castle, and the other two at Shamma. The captaine of this towne was gone to the principall towne, to speake with their king, and would returne shortly as they told me, and so he did, and brought me a weight and measure, and I sent a man to see that principall towne, and their king. The Portugall ships rid so neere us, that within 3 houres they might be with us, yet were all contented to tary for sales.

The 18 day certaine of the kings servants came to us, and we tooke one pound two ounces, and one eight part of gold.

[II. ii. 42.] The 10 day we tooke five pound one ounce.

The 20 day one pound and foure ounces.

The 21 I tooke foure pound and one ounce, and the Negroes enquired for fine cloth, and I opened two pieces which were not fine enough, as they sayd, but seeing that we had no other, they bought of them. At night I provided a gift, or present, and sent one marchant and a mariner with it to the king, to certifie him of our want of victuals, by reason whereof we could not stay long: for in deed we searched our ship, and the most part of our beere was leaked out of all our barrels.

The 22 day we tooke three ounces and a halfe.

King Abaan. The 23 our men came from the king Abaan, and told us, that he had received them very friendly, but he had litle gold, but promised, if we would tary, to send into all his countrey for gold for us, and he willed our men at their comming home to speake to our king to send men and provision into his countrey, to build a castle, and to bring Tailors with them, to make them apparell, and good wares, and they should be sure to sell them: but for that present the Frenchmen had filled them full of cloth.

The offer of the king to the English to build a Fort.

A towne in circuit as big as London. This towne standeth about foure leagues up in the land, and is, by the estimation of our men, as big in circuit as London, but the building is like to the rest of

the countrey. They have about this Towne great store of the wheate of the Countrey, and they judge, that on one side of the towne there were one thousand rikes of Wheate, and another sort of Corne which is called Mill, which is much used in Spaine. About this towne they keepe good watch every night, and have to warne the watchmen certaine cordes made fast over their wayes, which lead into the towne, and certaine bels upon them, so that if any man touch the cordes, the bels ring, and then the watchmen runne foorth of their watch houses to see what they be: and if they be enemies, if they passe the cord, they have provision with certaine nets hanged over the wayes, where they must passe, to let fall upon them, and so take them, and otherwise then by the wayes it is not possible to enter the towne, by reason of the thickets and bushes which are about the same, and the towne is also walled round about with long cords, and bound together with sedge and certaine barkes of trees.

A pretie devise to descrie the enemie.

When our men came to the towne, it was about five of the clock in the morning, for there they travell alwayes in the night by reason of the heate of the day: and about nine of the clocke, the king sent for them, for there may no man come to him before he be sent for, and then they would have caried their present with them: but the Negros told them, that they must bee three times brought before him, before they might offer their gift: and when they came to him, he talked with them, and received them very friendly, and kept them about halfe an houre, and then they departed, and after that sent for them againe three times, and last of all, they brought him their present, which he received thankfully, and then caused a pot of wine of Palme to be brought foorth, and made them drinke: and before they drinke, both here and in all the Countrey, they use certaine ceremonies.

The kings friendly entertainment of our men.

First, they bring foorth their pot of drinke, and then they make a hole in the ground, & put some of the drinke into it, and they cast the earth upon it, which

Their ceremonies in drinking.

they digged forth before, and then they set the pot upon the same, then they take a litle thing made of a goord, and with that they take out of the same drinke, and put it upon the ground in three places, and in divers places they have certaine bunches of the pils of Palme trees set in the ground before them, and there they put in some drinke, doing great reverence in all places to the same Palme trees.

All these ceremonies first done, the king tooke a cup of gold, and they put him in wine, and hee dranke of it, and when he dranke, the people cried all with one voice, Abaan, Abaan, with certaine other words, like as they cry commonly in Flanders, upon the Twelfe night, The kinning drinks: and when he had drunke, then they gave drinke to every one, and that done, the king licensed them to depart, and every one that departeth from him boweth 3 times towards him, and waveth with both hands together, as they bow, and then do depart. The king hath commonly sitting by him 8 or 10 ancient men with gray beards.

This day we tooke one pound and 10 ounces of gold.

The 24 day we tooke 3 pound and 7 ounces.

The 25 we tooke 3 ounces and 3 quarters.

The 26 we tooke 2 pound and 10 ounces.

The 27 two pound and five ounces.

The 28 foure pound, and then seeing that there was no more gold to be had, we weighed and went foorth.

Mowre. The first day of March we came to a towne called Mowre, but we found no boats nor people there: but being ready to depart, there came two Almades to us [II. ii. 43.] from another towne, of whom we tooke two ounces and a halfe of golde: and they tolde us that the Negroes that dwelled at Mowre were gone to dwell *Lagova.* at Lagova.

They returne. The second day we came thwart of the castle, and about two leagues off, and there saw all the five Portugall ships at anker, and this day by night we fetched Shamma.

The third day we had sight of one tall ship, of about two hundred tunnes, in the weather of us, and within lesse then two leagues of our ships, and then we saw two more a sterne of her, the one a ship of five hundred or more, and the other a pinnesse: and these were a new fleet at that present arrived out of Portugall. Whereupon we wayed, and made shift to double out of the land, and then the winde comming to the South-southwest, the Hart going roome with them fell three leagues to the leewards of us. These Portugals gave us the chase from nine of the clocke in the morning, till five at night, but did no good against us. At last, we perceiving the Admirall to be farre a sterne of his company, because his maine topmast was spent, determined to cast about with them againe, because we were sure to weather them, and the winde being as it was, it was our best course: but the Hart was so farre to the leeward, that we could not doe it, except we would lose her company, so that we tooke in some of our sailes, and went roome with him: which when he perceived, he looffed to, and was able to lie as neere as he did before. At night, when we came to him, he would not speake to us: then we asked of his company why he went so roome; and they made excuse that they were able to beare no saile by, for feare of bearing their foretopmast over boord: but this was a simple excuse. *Ships of Portugall.*

The fourth day, being put from our watring place we began to seethe our meat in salt water, and to rebate our allowance of drinke, to make it indure the longer: and so concluded to set our course thence, for our owne countrey.

The 12 of March I found my selfe thwart of Cape das palmas.

The 16 day we fell with the land, which we judged to be the Cape Mensurado, about which place is very much high land. *Cape Mensurado.*

The 18 day we lost sight of the Hart, and I thinke the willfull Master ran in with the shore of purpose

to lose us, being offended that I tolde him of his owne folly.

Two small Ilands by Sierra Leona.

The 27 day we fell in sight of two small Ilands, which lie by our reckoning sixe leagues off the headland of Sierra Leona: and before we came in sight of the same Ilands, we made our reckoning to be forty or thirty leagues at the least off them. Therefore all they that saile this way are to regard the currents which set North-northwest, or els they may be much deceived.

Note.

The 14 of Aprill we met with two great ships of Portugall, which although they were in the weather of us, yet came not roome with us, whereby we judged that they were bound for Calicut.

The 18 day we were in the heigth of Cape verde.

The 24 we were directly under the tropike of Cancer.

The first day of May Henry Wilson our Steward died: and the next day died John Underwood.

The fift day we were in the heigth of S. Michael.

A French bravado.

The 23 we had sight of a shippe in the weather of us, which was a Frenchman of 90 tunne, who came with us as stoutly and as desperately as might be, and comming neere us perceived that we had bene upon a long voyage, and judging us to be weake, as in deed we were, came neerer us, and thought to have layed us aboord, & there stept up some of his men in armour, and commanded us to strike saile: whereupon we sent them some of our stuffe, crossebarres, and chaineshot, and arrowes, so thicke, that it made the upper worke of their shippe flie about their eares, and we spoiled him with all his men, and toare his shippe miserably with our great ordinance, and then he began to fall a sterne of us, and to packe on his sailes, and get away: and we seeing that, gave him foure or five good pieces more for his farewell; and thus we were rid of this French man, who did us no harme at all. We had aboord us a French man a Trumpetter, who being sicke, and lying in his bed, tooke his trumpet notwithstanding, and sounded till he could sound no more, and so died.

The 28 we conferred together, and agreed to go into Severne, and so to Bristoll, but the same night we had sight of the Lizard, and by reason of the winde, we were not able to double the lands end to go into Severne, but were forced to beare in with the Lizard.

The 29 day, about nine of the clocke in the morning, we arrived safely in Plimmouth, and praised God for our good arrivall.

The third and last voyage of M. William Towrson to the coast of Guinie, and the Castle de Mina, in the yeere 1577. [II. ii. 44.]

THe thirtieth day of January, the yeere abovesayd, we departed out of the sound of Plimmouth, with three ships, and a pinnesse, whereof the names are these:

1 The Minion Admirall of the fleet.
2 The Christopher Viceadmirall.
3 The Tyger.

4 A pinnesse called the Unicorne: being all bound for the Canaries, and from thence, by the grace of God, to the coast of Guinie.

The next day, being the last of this moneth, we met with two hulks of Dantzick, the one called the Rose, a ship of foure hundred tunnes, and the other called the Unicorne, of an hundred and fifty tunnes, the Master of the Rose was called Nicholas Masse, and the Master of the Unicorne Melchior White, both laden at Bourdeaux, and for the most part with wines. When we came to them, we caused them to hoise foorth their boats, and to come and speake with us, and we examined every one of them apart, what French mens goods they had in their shippes, and they sayd they had none: but by the contrarieties of their tales, and by the suspicion which we gathered of their false chartar-parties, we perceived that they had French mens goods in them: we therefore caused one of them to fetch up his bils of

It is to be understood, that at this time there was warre betwixt England and France.

lading, and because he denied that he had any, we sent certaine with him, who caused him to goe to the place where he had hid them, and by the differences of his billes of lading, and his talke, we gathered, as before, that they had Frenchmens goods. Whereupon we examined them straightly, and first the Purser of the Unicorne, which was the smaller shippe, confessed that they had two and thirty tunnes and a hogshead of a French mans. Then we examined the Master in like case, and he acknowledged the same to be true. Then we examined also the Master of the great ship, and he confessed that he had an hundred and eight and twenty tunnes of the same French mans, and more they would not confesse, but sayd that all the rest was laden by Peter Lewgues of Hamburg, to be delivered to one Henry Summer of Camphire, notwithstanding all their letters were directed to Hamburg, and written in Dutch without, and within in French.

When they had confessed that they had thus much French mens goods within their shippes, we conferred together what was best to be done with them. William Cretton and Edward Selman were of the opinion, that it should be good either to carry them into Spaine, and there to make sale of the goods, or els into Ireland, or to returne backe againe into England with them, if the winde would permit it. But I, waying what charge we had of our Masters, first by mouth, and afterwards by writing, that for no such matter we should in any case prolong the time, for feare of losing the voyage, and considering that the time of the yeere was very farre spent, and the money that we should make of the wines not very much, in respect of the commodity which we hoped for by the voyage, perswaded them that to goe into Ireland, the winde being Easterly as it was, might be an occasion that we should be locked in there with that winde, and so lose our voyage: and to cary them into Spaine, seeing they sailed so ill, that having all their sailes abroad, we kept them company onely with our foresailes,

and without any toppe sailes abroad, so that in every two dayes sailing they would have hindered us more then one; and besides that (the winde being Easterly) we should not be able to seaze the coast with them: besides all this the losse of time when we came thither was to be considered, whereupon I thought it not good to carry them any further.

And as for carying them into England, although the winde had bene good, as it was not, considering what charge we had of our Masters, to shift us out of the way for feare of a stay by reason of the warres, I held it not in any wise convenient.

But notwithstanding all this, certeine of our company not being herewith satisfied went to our Master to know his opinion therein, who made them a plaine answere, that to cary them into any place, it was not the best way nor the profit of their Masters. And he tolde them further, that if the time were prolonged one moneth longer before they passed the Cape, but a few men would go the voyage. All these things considered, we all paused, and determined at the last, that every man should take out of the hulks so much as he could well bestow for necessaries, and the next morning to conclude what should be further done with them. So we tooke out of them for us foureteene tunnes and a halfe of wine, and one tunne we put into the pinnesse.

The French mens goods seazed in the time of the warre upon the losse of Cales.

More we tooke out one hogshead of Aquavitæ.

Sixe cakes of rozzen.

A small halser for ties: and certeine chesnuts.

The Christopher tooke out, [II. ii. 45.]

Ten tunnes of wine, and one hogshead.

A quantity of Aquavitæ.

Shall-lines.

Chesnuts.

Sixe double bases with their chambers. And their men broke up the hulks chests, and tooke out their compasses, and running glasses, the sounding leade and line, and candles: and cast some of their beefe over

boord, and spoiled them so much, that of very pity we gave them a compasse, a running glasse, a lead and a line, certaine bread and candles, and what apparell of theirs we could finde in their ship, we gave them againe, and some money also of that which William Crompton tooke for the ransome of a poore Frenchman, who being their Pilot downe the River of Bordeux, they were not able to set him a shore againe, by reason of the foule weather.

The Tyger also tooke out of the smaller hulke sixe or seven tunnes of wine, one hogshead of Aquavitæ, and certeine rozzen, and two bases he tooke out of the great hulke.

The first day of February in the morning we all came together againe saving W. Crompton who sent us word that he was contented to agree to that order which we should take.

Now Edward Selman was of this opinion, that it was not best to let the ships depart, but put men into them to cary them into England, which thing neither we nor our Master would agree unto, because we thought it not good to unman our ships going outward, considering how dangerous the time was: so that in fine we agreed to let them depart, and give them the rest of the wine which they had in their ships of the Frenchmens for the fraight of that which we had taken, and for their ordinance, rozzen, aquavitæ, chesnuts, and other things which the company had taken from them. So we received a bill of their handes, that they confessed how much Frenchmens goods they had, and then we let them depart.

The 10 day we reckoned our selves to be 25 leagues from the Grand Canarie, and this day about nine of the clocke our pinnesse brake her rudder, so that we were forced to towe her at the sterne of the Minion, which we were able to doe, and yet kept company with the rest of our ships. About eleven of the clocke this day we had sight of the Grand Canarie.

The 11 day when we came to the Iland we perceived that it was the Ile of Tenerif, & then in deed wee had sight of the Grand Canarie, which lieth 12 leagues to the Eastwards of Tenerif: and because the road of Tenerif is foule ground, and nothing was there to be gotten for the helping of our pinnesse, having the winde large, we agreed to go with the Grand Canarie.

The 12 day we came into the roade of the towne of Canarie, which lieth one league from the same towne. And after we had shot off divers pieces of ordinance to salute the towne and the castle, the governour and captaines of the Iland sent to us which were the captaines of the ships, requiring us to come a shore. And when we came to them they received us very frendly, offering us their owne Jennets to ride to the towne, and what other friendship they could shew us: and we went to the towne with two English Marchants which lay there, and remained in their house that day. The second day following we came aboord to deliver our marchandise, and to get our pinnesse mended.

Two English Marchants Ligiers in the Grand Canary.

The 14 day came into the road the Spanish fleet which was bound to the Emperours Indies, which were in number nineteene saile, whereof sixe were ships of foure hundred and five hundred a piece, the rest were of two hundred, an hundred and fifty, and of an hundred. When they were come to an ancre they saluted us with ordinance, and so we did them in like case. And afterwards the Admirall (who was a knight) sent his pinnesse to desire me to come to him; and when I came to him he received me friendly, and was desirous to heare somewhat of the state of England and Flanders. And after he had made me a banquet, I departed; and I being gone unto the boat, hee caused one of his gentlemen to desire Francisco the Portugall, which was my interpreter, to require me to furle my flagge, declaring that hee was Generall of the Emperours fleet. Which thing (being come aboord) Francisco shewed me: and because I refused to furle it, and kept it foorth still,

The Spanish West Indian fleet of nineteene saile.

certaine of the souldiers in the ships shot divers harquebush shot about the ship, and over the flagge: and at the same time there came certeine gentlemen aboord our ship to see her: to whom I sayd, that if they would not cause those their men to leave shooting, I would shoot the best ordinance I had thorow their sides. And when they perceived that I was offended, they departed, and caused their men of warre and souldiers to shoot no more, and afterwards they came to me againe, and tolde me that they had punished their men. That done, I shewed them the ship, and made them such cheere as I could, which they received very thankfully: and the day following they sent for mee to dine with them, and sent me word that their General was very sory that any
[II. ii. 46.] man should require me to furle my flagge, and that it was without his consent: and therefore he requested me not to thinke any ungentlenesse to be in him, promising that no man of his should misdemeane himselfe.

The 17 day we set saile in the road of Grand Canarie, and proceeded on our voyage.

The 20 in the morning we had sight of the coast of Barbarie, and running along the shore we had sight
Rio del Oro. of Rio del Oro, which lieth almost under the tropike of Cancer.

The 21 day we found ourselves to be in 20 degrees and a halfe, which is the heigth of Cape Blank.

The 25 we had sight of the land in the bay to the Northward of Cape Verde.

Francis Castelin. The 26 I tooke Francisco and Francis Castelin with me, and went into the pinnesse, and so went to the Tyger which was neerer the shore then the other ships, and went aboord her, and with her and the other ships we ranne West and by South, and West-southwest, untill about foure of the clocke, at which time we were
Cape verde. hard aboord the Cape, and then we ran in Southwest, and beyond the Cape about foure leagues we found a
Foure Ilands. faire Iland, and besides that two or three Ilands, which

were of very high rocks, being full of divers sorts of sea-foule, and of pigeons, with other sorts of land-foules, and so many, that the whole Iland was covered with the dung thereof, and seemed so white as if the whole Iland had bene of chalke; and within those Ilands was a very faire bay, and hard aboord the rocks eighteene fadom water, and faire ground. And when we perceived the bay, and understanding that the Frenchmen had a great trade there, which we were desirous to know, we came to an ancre with the Tyger. And after that the Minion and the Christopher ancred in like case: then we caused the pinnesse to runne beyond another Cape of land, to see if there were any place to trade in there.

A great trade of the Frenchmen at Cape verde.

It being neere night I tooke our cocke and the Tygers skiffe, and went to the Iland, where we got certaine foules like unto Gannards: and then I came aboord againe and tooke two of the Gannards which we had taken, and caried them to the captaine of the Christopher, and when I had talked with him, I found him not willing to tary there, neither was I desirous to spend any long time there, but onely to attempt what was to be done. The Master of the Christopher tolde me he would not tary, being not bound for that place.

The 27 the Captaine of the Tyger and Edward Selman came to me, and John Makeworth from the Christopher, and then we agreed to take the pinnesse, & to come along the shore, because that where we rid no Negros came to us, and the night before our pinnesse brought us word that there was a very faire Iland. And when I came beyond the point I found it so, and withall a goodly bay, and we saw upon the maine certaine Negros which waved us on shore, and then we came to an ancre with the pinnesse, and went a shore with our cocke, and they shewed us where their trade was, and that they had Elephants teeth, muske, & hides, and offered us to fetch downe their Captaine, if we would send a man with them, and they would leave a pledge for

A faire Iland where the French trade.

Elephants teeth, muske and hides.

him: then we asked them when any ship had bene there; and some of them sayd not in eight moneths, others, in sixe moneths, and others in foure, and that they were Frenchmen.

Then we perceiving the Christopher not willing to tary, departed from them, & set saile with the pinnesse and went aboord the Tyger.

Cabo de Monte.

The 10 day of March we fell with the coast of Guinea, five leagues to the Eastward of Cape de Monte, beside a river called Rio das Palmas.

The 11 we went to the shore, and found one man that could speake some Portuguise, who tolde us that there were three French ships passed by; one of them two moneths past, and the other one moneth past. At this place I received nineteene Elephants teeth, and two ounces and halfe a quarter of golde.

The river de Sestos.

The 12 we set saile to go to the river de Sestos.

The 13 at night we fell with the same river.

The 14 day we sent in our boats to take water, and romaged our shippes, and delivered such wares to the Christopher and Tyger, as they had need of.

The 15 we came together, and agreed to send the Tyger to another river to take in her water, and to see what she could do for graines. After that we tooke marchandise with us, and went into the river, and there we found a Negro which was borne in Lisbone, left there by a ship of Portugal which was burned the last yere at this river in fighting with three Frenchmen; and he told us further, that two moneths past there were three Frenchmen at this place; and sixe weeks past there were two French ships at the river; and fifteene dayes past there was one. All which ships were gone towards the Mina. This day we tooke but few graines.

The 19 day considering that the Frenchmen were gone before us, and that by reason of the unholesome aires of this place foureteene of our men in the Minion were fallen sicke, wee determined to depart, and with all speed to go to the Mina.

The 21 wee came to the river de Potos, where some of our boats went in for water, and I went in with our cocke, and tooke 12 small Elephants teeth. [II. ii. 47.] *Rio de Potos.*

The 23. day, after we had taken as many teeth as we could get, about nine of the clocke we set saile to go towards the Mina.

The 31 we came to Hanta, and made sale of certaine Manillios.

The first Aprill we had sight of five saile of Portugals, whereupon we set saile and went off to sea to get the winde of them, which wee should have had if the winde had kept his ordinary course, which is all the day at the Southwest, and West-southwest: but this day with a flaw it kept all the day at the East, and East-southeast, so that the Portugals had the winde of us, and came roome with the Tyger and us untill night, and brought themselves all save one, which sailed not so well as the rest, within shot of us: then it fell calme, and the winde came up to the Southwest, howbeit it was neere night, and the Christopher, by meanes of her boat, was about foure leagues to the leewards of us. We tacked and ranne into the weather of the Admirall, and three more of his company, and when we were neere him we spake to him, but he would not answere. Then we cast about and lay in the weather of him; and casting about he shot at us, and then wee shot at him, and shot him foure or five times thorow. They shot divers times thorow our sailes, but hurt no man. The Tyger and the pinnesse, because it was night, kept out their sailes, & would not meddle with them. After we had thus fought together 2 houres or more, and would not lay him aboord because it was night, we left shooting one at the other, and kept still the weather of them. Then the Tyger and the pinnesse kept about and came to us, and afterward being neere the shore, wee three kept about and lay to the sea, and shot off a piece to give warning to the Christopher. *They descrie five saile of the Portugals.* *The fight.*

This night about 12 of the clocke, being very litle winde, and the Master of the Tyger asleepe, by the ill

worke of his men the ship fel aboord of us, and with her sheare-hooks cut our maine saile, and her boat being betwixt us was broken and suncke, with certaine marchandise in her, and the ships wales were broken with her outleger: yet in the ende we cleared her without any more hurt, but she was in hazzard to be broken downe to the water.

The second day we had sight of the Christopher, and were neere unto her, so that I tooke our boat and went to her. And when I came thither, they shewed me, that after the Portugals had left us, they went all roome with him, and about twelve a clocke at night met him, and shot at him, and hee at them, and they shot him thorow the sailes in divers places, and did no other great hurt. And when we had understood that they had beene with him as well as with us, we agreed altogether to seeke them (if wee might finde them) and keepe a weather our places of traffique.

The third day we ran all day to the Southwestwards to seeke the Portugals, but could have no sight of them, and halled into the shore.

The fourth day, when we had sight of land, we found that the currant had set us thirty leagues to the Eastwards of our reckoning, which we woondered at: for the *Lagua.* first land we made was Lagua. Then I caused our boat to be manned, and the Christophers also, and went to the shore and tooke our Negro with us. And on shore we learned that there were foure French ships upon the *Perinnen.* coast; one at Perinnen, which is six leagues to the *Weamba.* Westward of Laguoa: another at Weamba, which is foure leagues to the Estward of Laguoa: a third at *Perecow.* Perecow, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of *Egrand.* Weamba: and the fourth at Egrand, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Perecow.

When we had intelligence of these newes we agreed to go to the Eastwards with the French men to put them from their traffique, and shot off two or three pieces in our boats to cause the ships to way: and having bene

about one houre under saile, we had sight of one of the French men under saile, halling off from Weamba to whome we gave chase, and agreed in the night for feare of overshooting them, that the Minion should first come to ancre, and after that about three houres, the Tyger and the Christopher to beare along all night.

The 5. day we found three of the French ships at ancre: one called La foye de Honfleur, a ship of 220 tunnes, another called the Ventereuse or small Roebarge of Honfleur, of 100 tunnes, both appertaining to Shawdet of Honfleur, the third was called the Mulet de Batuille a ship of 120 tunnes, and this ship belonged to certaine Marchants of Roan.

When we came to them, we determined to lay the Admiral aboord, the Christopher the Viceadmirall, and the Tyger the smallest: but when we came nere them they wayed, and the Christopher being the headmost & the weathermost man, went roome with the Admirall: the Roebarge went so fast that wee could not fetch her. The first that we came to was the Mulet, and her wee layed aboord, and our men entred and tooke her, which ship was the richest except the Admirall: for the Admirall had taken about 80 pound of golde, and the Roeberge had taken but 22 pound; and all this we learned of the Frenchmen, who knew it very well: for they were all in consort together, and had bene upon the coast of Mina two moneths and odde dayes: howbeit the Roeberge had bene there before them with another ship of Diepe, and a caravel, which had beaten all the coast, and were departed one moneth before our arriving there, and they three had taken about 700 pound of golde. *The English boord the Frenchmen.* [II. ii. 48.]

Assoone as we had layed the ship aboord, and left certaine men in her to keepe her, we set saile and gave chase to the other two ships, and chased them all day and night, and the next day untill three a clocke in the afternoone, but we could not fetch them: and therfore seeing that we brought our selves very farre to

leeward of our place, we left the chase, and kept about againe to go with the shore.

Fifty pound of golde taken in the French prise.

The 7 day I sent for the captaine, marchants & Masters of the other ships, and when they came we weighed the golde which we had from the Frenchmen, which weighed fifty pound and five ounces of golde: this done, we agreed to put men out of every ship into the prise to keepe her.

The 12 day we came to the further place of the Mina called Egrand, and being come to an ancre, discharged all the marchants goods out of the prise, and would have sold the ship with the victuals to the Frenchmen, but because she was leake they would not take her, but desired us to save their lives in taking them into our owne ships: then we agreed to take out the victuals and sinke the ship, and divide the men among our ships.

The 15 at night we made an end of discharging the prise, and divided all the Frenchmen except foure which were sicke and not able to helpe themselves; which foure both the Christopher and the Tyger refused to take, leaving them in their ship alone in the night, so that about midnight I was forced to fetch them into our ship.

Benin.

The 15 of April, mooving our company for the voyage to Benin, the most part of them all refused it.

The 16, seeing the unwillingnesse of the company to goe thither, we determined to spend as much time upon the coast as we could, to the end we might make our voyage, and agreed to leave the Minion here at Egrand, the Tyger to go to Pericow which is foure leagues off, and the Christopher to goe to Weamba, which is ten leagues to the weatherward of this place: and if any of them both should have sight of more sailes then they thought good to meddle withall, to come roome with their fellowes: to wit, first the Christopher to come with the Tyger, and then both they to come with us.

Our men die of sicknesse.

We remained in this place called Egrand, untill the last day of April, in which time many of our men fell

sicke; and sixe of them died. And here we could have no traffique with the Negros but three or foure dayes in the weeke, and all the rest of the weeke they would not come at us.

The 3 of May not having the pinnesse sent us with cloth from the other ships, as they promised, we solde French cloth, and gave but three yards thereof to every fuffe.

The 5 day the Negros departed, and told us they would come to us againe within foure dayes, which we determined there to tary, although we had divers of our men sicke.

The 8 day, all our cloth in the Minion being sold, I called the company together, to know whether they would tary the sale of the cloth taken in the prise at this place or no: they answered, that in respect of the death of some of their men, and the present sicknesse of twenty more, they would not tary, but repaire to the other ships, of whom they had heard nothing since the 27 of April: and yet they had our pinnesse with them, onely to cary newes from one to another. *Sicknesse.*

The 9 day we determined to depart hence to our fellowes, to see what they had done, and to attempt what was to be done at the towne of Don John.

The 10 day in the morning we sat saile to seeke the Christopher and the Tyger.

The 11 day the captaine of the Christopher came to us, and told us that they could finde small doings at the places where they had bene.

The 12 William Crompton and I in our small pinnesse went to the Tyger and the Christopher at Perenine.

The 13 we sent away the Tyger to Egrand, because we found nothing to doe at Perenine, worth the tarying for.

The 14 our great pinnesse came to us, and presently we put cloth into her, and sent her backe to Weamba, where she had bene before, and had taken there ten pound of golde.

The 15 the Minion came to us, and the next day we went a shore with our boats, and tooke but one ounce of golde.

Mowre. The 19 day having set saile we came to an ancre before Mowre, and there we tarried two dayes, but tooke not an ounce of golde.

[II. ii. 49.] The 21 we came to an ancre before Don Johns towne.

The 22 we manned our boats and went to shore, but the Negros would not come at us; then the Captaine of the Christopher and I tooke a skiffe and eight men with us, and went and talked with the Negros, and they sayd that they would send a man to the great towne, where Don John himselfe lay, to advertise him of our comming.

The great towne of Don John.

The 23 we went a shore againe, and the Negros tolde us that this day the marchants of Don John would come downe: so we tarried there untill night, and no man would come to us: but divers of the Negros made us signes to depart.

The 24 the Captaine of the Christopher tooke his boat & went to Mowre, and when he came thither, certaine Negros came to him to know the price of his wares, but in the end there came an Almade, which he judged came from the castle, and caused all the Negros to depart from him: and when he saw they would come no more to him, he went a shore and tooke certaine men with him, and then the Negros cast stones at them, & would not suffer them to come up to their towne. And when they saw that, they tooke certaine of the Almades, and put them to the sea, and afterwards departed. The same morning I went a shore at Don Johns towne, and tooke a white flag with me, but none of the Negros could come to me, which caused us to judge that the Portugals were in the towne. After this, our boat came to us well manned, and I sent one man up to the towne with a white flag in his hand, but when he was come thither, all the Negros went away & would not speake with him. Then I sent one alone into the woods after them, but

they in no case would come to us. When we saw that, we tooke twelve goats and fourteene hennes, which we found in the towne, and went aboord without doing any further hurt to the towne: and when I came aboord, I found our pinnesse come from Cormatin, which had taken there two pound & five ounces of golde. Then after much ado with the froward Mariners, we went thitherwards with our ship, and the Christopher went to Mowre. *Cormatin.*

The 25 day the Master of the Christopher sent his boat to the shore for balast, and the Negros would have beaten the company from the shore, whereupon the company resisted them, and slew and hurt divers of them, and having put them to flight, burned their towne, and brake all their boats. *A fight with the Negros.*

The 26 day our pinnesse came to us from Cormatin, and had taken two pound & eleven ounces of golde: and John Shirife tolde us that the Negros of that place were very desirous to have a ship come backe againe to their towne.

The 27 we wayed and went to Cormatin.

The 28 the Christopher came to us from Mowre, and traffiqued there two dayes.

The second day of June the Tyger came to us from Egrand, and the pinnesse from Weamba, and they two had taken about fifty pound of golde since they departed from us.

The 4 day we departed from Cormatin to plie up to Shamma, being not able to tary any longer upon the coast for lacke of victuals, and specially of drinke.

The 7 day we had sight of five of the king of Portugals ships, which came to an ancre besides the castle.

The 8 day George and Binny came to us, and brought with them about two pound of golde.

The 10 day in the morning I tooke our small pinnesse, and the Captaine of the Christopher with me, and manned her well, and went to the castle to view the Portugals ships, and there we found one ship of about 300 tunne, and foure caravels: when we had well viewed

them, we returned backe againe to our ships which we found seven leagues at sea.

The 11 day in the morning we found our selves wel shot toward Shamma, & the Tyger with us, but the Minion & the pinnesse had not wayed that night, so that we were out of sight of them: and having brought our selves in the weather of the Portugals ships, we came to an ancre to tary for the Minion, or els we might have fetched Shamma. At night the Minion and the pinnesse came up to us, but could not fetch so farre to the weatherward as we, and therefore they ancred about a league a weather The castle, and we waied in the Christopher, and went roome with her.

The 12 day the Tyger came roome with us, and she and the Christopher finding themselves to stand in great need of victuals, would have gone with the Portugals ships to have fetched some of them forth: but our master and company would in no case consent to goe with them, for feare of hanging when we came home: and the other two ships being fully minded to have gone, and fearing that their owne company would accuse them, durst not go to them.

After this, by reason of the want of victuals in the pinnesse, which could receive no victuals from the other shippes, but from us onely, we tooke out all our men, and put twelve Frenchmen into her, and gave them victuals to bring them to Shamma.

[II. ii. 50.] *Note.* The 19 day the Tyger and Minion arrived at Shamma, and the Christopher within two leagues off them, but could not fetch the winde by reason of the scantnesse of the winde, which hath bene so scant, that in fifteene dayes we have plied to the windewards but twelve leagues, which before we did in one day and a night.

The 20 day I tooke our pinnesse, and went to the towne of Shamma to speake with the captaine, and he tolde me that there was no golde there to be had, nor so much as a hen to be bought, and all by reason of

the accord which he had made with the Portugals, and I seeing that departed peaceably from him.

The 21 I put such things as we had into our small pinnesse, and tooke one marchant of our ship, and another of the Tyger, and sent her to Hanta, to attempt, if she could doe any thing there. That night they could do nothing but were promised to have golde the next day.

The next day (which was the 22) being come, we sent our pinnesse to Hanta againe, but there neither the captaine nor the Negros durst traffike with us, but intised us from place to place, and all to no purpose.

They put the Frenchmen with victuals into the pinnesse.

This day we put away our pinnesse, with five and twenty Frenchmen in her, and gave them such victuals as we could spare, putting fifteene of them to the ransome of sixe crownes a man.

The 23 of June our pinnesse came to us from Hanta, and tolde us that the Negros had dealt very ill with them, and would not traffike with them to any purpose.

Shamma burnt by the English.

The 24 we tooke our boat and pinnesse and manned them well, and went to the towne of Shamma, and because the Captaine thereof was become subject to the Portugals we burned the towne, and our men seeking the spoile of such trifles as were there found a Portugals chest, wherein was some of his apparell, and his weights, and one letter sent to him from the castle, whereby we gathered that the Portugall had bene there of a long time.

Their returne homeward.

The 25 day, about three of the clocke at afternoone, we set saile, and put into the sea, for our returne to England.

The last day of this moneth we fell with the shore againe, and made our reckoning to be eighteene leagues to the weatherward of the place where we set off. When we came to make the land, we found our selves to be eighteene leagues to the leeward of the place, where we set off, which came to passe, by reason of the extreame currant that runneth to the Eastward: when we perceived *The currant.*

our selves so abused, we agreed to cast about againe, and to lie as neere the winde as we could, to fetch the line.

S. Thome Iland. The seventh of July we had sight of the Ile of S. Thome, and thought to have sought the road to have ancred there: but the next morning the winde came about, and we kept our course.

The ninth, the winde varying, we kept about againe, and fell with the Iland of S. Thome, and seeking the road, were becalmed neere the Iland, and with the currant were put neere the shore, but could have no ground to ancre: so that we were forced to hoise out our pinnesse, and the other ships their skifs to towe from the Iland, which did litle good, but in the end the winde put us three leagues off the shore.

The tenth day the Christopher and the Tyger cast about, whereby we judged them to have agreed together, to goe seeke some ships in the road, and to leave us: our men were not willing to goe after them, for feare of running in with the Iland againe, and of putting our selves into the same danger that we were in the night before: but we shot off a piece, and put out two lights, and they answered us with lights againe: whereupon we kept our course, and thought that they had followed us, but in the morning we could not see them, so that they left us willingly, and we determined to follow them no more. But the eleventh day we altered our opinion and course, and consented to cast about againe for the Iland, to seeke our ships; and about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we met with them.

The 13 we fell againe with the Iland of S. Thome; and the same night we found our selves directly under the line.

The description of the Ile of S. Thome. This Iland is a very high Iland, and being upon the West side of it, you shall see a very high pike, which is very small, and streight, as it were the steeple of a church, which pike lieth directly under the line, and at the same South end of the Iland to the Westward thereof lieth a small Iland, about a mile from the great Iland.

The third of August we departed from the Ile of S. Thome, & met the winde at the Southwest.

The 12 day we were in the height of Cape verde.

The 22 day we fell with one of the Iles of Cape verde, called The Ile of Salt, and being informed by a Scotish man that we tooke among the Frenchmen upon the coast, that there were fresh victuals to be had, we came to an ancre there. *The Iland of Salt.*

The 23 day in the morning we manned our skiffe, and went a shore, and found no houses, but we saw foure men, which kept themselves alwayes farre from us, as for cattell we could finde none, but great store of goats, [II. ii. 51.] and they were so wilde, that we could not take above three or foure of them: but there we had good store of fish, and upon a small Iland which lay by the same we had great store of sea-birds.

At night the Christopher brake her cable, and lost an ancre, so that she could tary no longer, so we all wayed, and set saile. Upon the same Iland we left the Scotish man, which was the occasion of our going aland at that place, but how he was left we could not tell: but, as we judged, the people of the Iland found him sleeping, and so caried him away: for at night I went my selfe to the Iland to seeke him, but could hear nothing of him.

The 24 day the Master of the Tyger came aboord us, & tolde us that his men were so weake, and the shippe so leake, that he was not able to keepe her above the water, and therefore requested us to go backe againe to the Iland, that we might discharge her, and give her up: but we intreated him to take paine with her a while, and we put a French Carpenter into her, to see if he could finde the leake. This day we tooke a view of all our men, both those that were hole, and the sicke also, and we found that in all the three ships, were not above thirty sound men. *The great inconvenience by late staying upon the coast of Guinie.*

The 25 we had sight of the Ile of S. Nicholas, and the day following, of the other Iles, S. Lucia, S. Vincent,

and S. Anthony; which foure Iles lie the one from the other Northwest and by West, Southeast and by East.

The 26 we came againe with the Iland of S. Anthony, and could not double the Cape. This day Philip Jones, the Master of the Christopher, came aboord us, who had beene aboord the Tyger, and tolde us that they were not able to keepe the Tyger, because she was leake, and the Master very weake, and sayd further, he had agreed with the Master and the company, that if the next day we could double the Iland, we should runne to the leeward of it, and there discharge her: but if we could not double it, then to put in betwixt the Iland of S. Vincent and S. Anthony, to see if we could discharge her.

The third day of September I went aboord the Tyger, with the Master and marchants with me, to view the shippe and men: and we found the shippe very leake, and onely six labouring men in her, whereof one was the Master gunner: so that we seeing that they were not able to keepe the ship, agreed to take in the men, and of the goods what we could save, and then to put the ship away.

The fift day we went to discharge the Tyger.

The Tyger given up.

The eight day, having taken out the artillery, goods, victuals, and gold of the Tyger, we gave her up 25 degrees by North the line.

The 27 we had sight of two of the Iles of the Azores, S. Mary, and S. Michael.

The fourth of October we found our selves to be 41 degrees and a halfe from the line.

The sixt day the Christopher came to us, and willed us to put with the Cape, for they also were so weake, that they were not able to keepe the sea, and we being weake also, agreed to goe for Vigo, being a place which many English men frequent.

The 10 day the Christopher went roome with the Cape, but we having a mery wind for England, and fearing the danger of the enemies, which ordinarily lie

about the Cape: besides, not knowing the state of our countrey and Spaine, and although it were peace, yet there was little hope of friendship at their hands, considering the voyage that we had made, and we also being so weake, that by force and violence we could come by nothing, and doubting also that the King of Portugall knowing of our being there, might worke some way with the Councell of Spaine to trouble us: and further, considering that if we did put in with any harbor, we should not be able to come out againe, till we sent for more men into England, which would be a great charge, and losse of time, and meanes of many dangers. All these things pondred, we agreed to shoot off two pieces of ordinance, to warne the Christopher, and then we went our course for England: she hearing our pieces followed us, and we carried a light for her, but the next day in the morning it was thicke, and we could not see her in the afternoone neither, so that we suspected that either she was gone with Spaine, or els that she should put foorth more sailes then we in the night, and was shot a head of us, so that then we put forth our top-sailes, and went our course with England.

At the time when the Christopher left us, we were within 120 leagues of England, and 45 leagues North-west and by West from Cape Finister: and at the same time in our ships we had not above sixe Mariners and sixe Marchants in health, which was but a weake company for such a ship to seeke a forren harbour.

Extreame weaknesse of our men.

The 16 day, about sixe of the clocke at night, we met with a great storme at the Westsouthwest, & West, and our men being weake, and not able to handle our sailes, we lost the same night our maine saile, foresaile, and spreetsaile, & were forced to lie a hulling, untill the eighteenth day, and then we made ready an olde course of a foresaile, and put it to the yard, and therewith finding our selves far shot into the sleeve, we bare with our owne coast; but that fore- [II. ii. 52.]

saile continued not above two houres, before it was blowen from the yard with a freat, and then we were forced to lie a hull againe, untill the nineteenth day of October in the morning, and then we put an olde bonnet to our foreyard, which, by the good blessing and providence of God, brought us to the Ile of Wight, where we arrived the 20 of October in the afternoone.

The commodities and wares that are most desired in Guinie, betwixt Sierra Liona and the furthest place of the Mine.

MAnils of brasse, and some of leade.
Basons of divers sorts, but the most lattin.
Pots of course tinne, of a quart and more.
Some wedges of yron.
Margarites, and certaine other sleight beads.
Some blew Corall.
Some horse tailes.
Linnen cloth principally.
Basons of Flanders.
Some red cloth of low price, and some kersie.
Kettles of Dutch-land with brasen handles.
Some great brasse basons graved, such as in Flanders they set upon their cupboords.
Some great basons of pewter, and ewers graven.
Some lavers, such as be for water.
Great knives of a low price.
Sleight Flanders-caskets.
Chests of Roan of a lowe price, or any other chests.
Great pinnes.
Course French coverings.
Packing sheets good store.
Swords, daggers, frise mantels, and gownes, clokes, hats, red caps, Spanish blankets, axe heads, hammers, short pieces of yron, sleight belles, gloves of a lowe price, leather bags, and what other trifles you will.

Certaine Articles delivered to M. John Lok, by Sir William Gerard Knight, M. William Winter, M. Benjamin Gonson, M. Anthony Hickman, and M. Edward Castelin the 8 of September 1561, touching a voyage to Guinea.

A remembrance for you M. Lok at your comming to the coast of Guinie.

FIrst, when God shal send you thither, to procure, as you passe alongst the coast, to understand what rivers, havens, or harboroughs there be; and to make your selfe a plat thereof, setting those places which you shall thinke materiall in your sayd plat, with their true elevations.

Also you shall learne what commodities doe belong to the places where you shall touch, and what may be good for them.

The English marchants intend to fortifie in Ghinea, in the king of Habaans countrey.

It is thought good, that having a fort upon the coast of Mina in the king of Habaans country, it would serve to great purpose: wherfore you are especially sent to consider where the fort might be best placed, and upon what ground: wherein are to be noted these things following.

1. That the ground so serve, that it joyne to the sea on the one part, so as shippes and boats may come to lade and unlade.

2. What molde of earth the ground is of.

3. What timber or wood may be had, and how it will be caried.

4. What provision of victuals may be had in the countrey: and what kinde of our victuals will best serve to continue.

5. The place must be naturally strong, or such as

may be made strong with a small charge, and afterwards kept with a few men.

6. How water may be provided, if there be none to be had in the ground where the fort shall stand, or neere to it.

7. What helpe is to be had from the people of the countrey, either for the building of it, or for the defence thereof.

[II. ii. 53.] *The king of Haban.* To moove the king of Haban a farre off, for the making of a fort, and to note how he will like it; but use your communication so, that although there might fall out good cause for the doing of it, yet he do not understand your meaning.

Search the countrey so farre as you may, both alongst the coast, and into the land.

To learne what became of the marchants that were left at Benin.

The matters which shall be of importance to be noted we nothing doubt that you will omit, wherefore we referre the order of these affaires to your good discretion.

Also we pray you as occasion shall serve that you ayd and helpe our factours, both with your counsell and otherwise; and thus God send you safely to returne.

William Gerrard, William Winter, Benjamin Gonson, Anthony Hickman, Edward Castelin.

A letter of M. John Lok to the worshipfull company of Marchants adventurers for Guinie, written 1561, shewing reasons for his not proceeding in a voyage then intended to the foresayd countrey.



Orshipfull sirs; since the arrivall of M. Pet and Buttoll Monjoy (as I understand) for the voyage it is concluded that the Minion shall proceed on her voyage, if within 20 dayes she may be repaired of those hurts she hath received by the last storme: or in the moneth of January also, if the wind wil serve therfore. Wherefore for that your worships shall not be ignorant of my determined purpose in the same, with the reasons that have perswaded me thereunto; I have thought good to advertise you thereof, trusting that your worships will weigh them, as I uprightly and plainly meane them. And not for any feare or discouragement that I have of my selfe by the raging of the stormes of the sea, for that (I thanke the Lord) these have not beene the first that I have abiden, neither trust I they shalbe the last. First the state of the ship, in which, though I thinke not but M. Pet can do more for her strengthening then I can conceive, yet for all that, it will neither mend her conditions, nor yet make her so stanch that any cabin in her shalbe stanch for men to lie drie in: the which sore, what a weakening it will be to the poore men after their labour, that they neither can have a shift of apparell drie, nor yet a drie place to rest in, I referre to your discretion. For though that at Harwich she was both bound and caulked as much as might be, both within and without, yet for all that she left not, afore this flaw, in other weathers, being stressed, to open those seames, and become in the state she was before; I meane, in wetting her men: notwithstanding her new worke. And my judgement, with that little experience

I have had, leadeth me to thinke that the ship whose water works and footings be spent and rotten cannot be but leake for men. Next, the unseasonable time of the yere which is now present. And how onely by meanes of the unseasonable times in the returne from the voyage home, many thereby have decayed, to the great misery and calamity of the rest, and also to the great slander of the voyage (which I much respect) the last and other voyages have declared. And what it is to make the voyage in unseasonable time, that hath the second voyage also declared. Wherefore weying and foreseeing this (as I may wel terme it) calamity and unevitable danger of men, and that by men she must be brought home againe (except that God will shew an extraordinary miracle) I purpose not nor dare I venture with a safe conscience to tempt God herein. Againe, forsomuch as she is alone, and hath so little helpe of boat or pinnesse in her trade, & also for her watering, where a long time of force must be spent, my going, to the accomplishment of your expectations, will be to small effect for this time, because I shall want both vessell and men to accomplish it. And I would not gladly so spend my time and travell, to my great charges and paine, and after, for not falling out accordingly, to lose both pot and water, as the proverbe is. As for the Primrose, if she be there, her trade will be ended or ever we come there, so that she of force, by want of provision, must returne: yea, though we should carry with us a supply for her, yet is the meeting of her doubtfull, and though we met her, yet will the men not tarry, as no reason is they should: howbeit my opinion of her is that she is put into Ireland. The Flowerdeluce was in Milford. Thus for that your worships might understand the whole cause why I doe not proceed, I have troubled you at this time with this my long Letter. And, as God is my Judge, not for feare of the Portugals, which there we shall meet (and yet alone without ayde) as here is a shippe which was in Lisbon, whose men say that there are in a readinesse (onely to meet us) foure great ships, of

the which one is accounted 700 tunnes, & other pinnesses: yet not for feare of them, nor raging of the seas (whose rage God is above to rule) but onely for the premisses: the sequell whereof must by reason turne to a great [II. ii. 54.] misery to the men: the which I for my part (though it might turne me to as much gaine as the whole commeth to) yet would I not be so tormented, as the sight thereof would be a corsive to my heart, and the more, because foreseeing the same, I should be so leud, as yeelding, to have runne into the danger thereof, and therefore I have absolutely determined with my selfe not to goe this voyage. Howbeit if in a seasonable time of the yeere I had but one ship sufficient, though much lesse by the halfe, I would not refuse (as triall being made thereof should appeare) or if I had ability of my selfe to venture so much, it should well be seene. And this I speake to give you to understand that I refuse not this for feare: If you purpose to proceed heerein, send some one whom you please; to whom I will not onely deliver the articles which I have received, but also will give some particular notes which I have noted in the affaires which you have committed unto mee, with the best helpe and counsell I can. Thus the living God keepe your worships all. Bristoll this 11 of December 1561.

Your worships to comand to his power
John Lok.

[The relation

The relation of one William Rutter to M. Anthony Hickman his master touching a voyage set out to Guinea in the yeere 1562, by Sir William Gerard, Sir William Chester, M. Thomas Lodge, the sayd Antony Hickman, and Edward Castelin: which voyage is also written in verse by Robert Baker.



Orshipfull sir, my duty remembred, this shalbe to declare unto you the discourse of this our voyage, since our departure out of England from Dartmouth; at which time I gave you to understand of our departure, which was the 25 of February 1562. Then having a prosperous winde we departed from thence, and sailed on our voyage untill we arrived at Cavo verde the 20 of March, making no abode there, but sailed along the coast to our first appointed port Rio de sestos, at which port we arrived the third of Aprill in the morning, having the sight of a Frenchman, who assoone as he perceived us, set saile and made to the sea: in the meane time we came to an anker in the rode: and after that he had espied our flag, perceiving us to be Englishmen, he bare with the shore, & hailed our ships with his ordinance, at which time we the merchants of both the ships were in the river in traffike, and had understanding of the Negros that he had bene there three dayes before our comming: so we concluded together, that if he sent his pinnesse to traffike, we would not suffer him, untill we had taken further order with their captaine & marchants. In the afternoone the pinnesse came into the river, whose men we willed to make no traffike untill we had talked further with their captaine, whom we willed that night to come aboord our admirall; which was done. At which sayd time M. Burton and John Munt went aboord the Minion where the Frenchmen were, & there concluded that they

Cape verde.

Rio de Sestos.

The Minion.

should tary by us eight dayes, and suffer us quietly to traffike, wherewith they were not well pleased. Whereupon the next morning they departed from us, sailing alongst the coast to the Eastward towards Potis, which he did to hinder our traffike that way: wherefore the marchants of the Minion & we concluded (forasmuch as at that present we understood that there were no sailes past alongst) that we should go before, to the end we might not be hindred of our traffike by the Frenchmen; which thing we did: and at our comming thither we found the Frenchman in traffike to the West of Potis, by whom we passed, & arrived at Rio de Potis the 12 of *Rio de Potis.* April, where we remained in traffike untill the 15 of the sayd moneth, and then departed from thence along the coast toward Sant Andre, where we appointed by agree- *Rio de S. Andre.* ment to tary for the Minion: and the 17 at night we came to the river of S. Andre; in which very day the Minion came unto us, telling us that they met at cavo das *Cavo das palmas.* Palmas a great ship and a carvell of the king of Portugals bound to the Mina, who gave chase unto them, and shot freely at them, and the Minion in her defence returned her the like: but God be praised the Minion had no hurt for that time. In the end we concluded to hasten towards cavo de tres puntas to have put them from the *Cavo de tres puntas.* castle, if by any meanes wee might; and when wee were come to the Cape, we lay a hull one night and two dayes, and doubting they had bene past, the Minion went neere the shore, and sent her merchants to a place called Anta, where beforetime we had traffike, and the *Anta.* next morning very early being the 21 of the sayd moneth, we againe had sight of the ship and the caravell a good way to sea-boord of us. Then we presently set saile, and bare with the formost of them, hoping to have got betweene the castle and them, but we came short of our purpose, which was no small griefe unto us all; and when they had gotten the castle to friend, they shot at us freely, and we at them, and the castle at us; but we profited litle. In the afternoone we set saile & came to the town

Equi. of Don Juan called Equi, where the 22 in the morning we went a shore to traffike, but the Negros would not untill they had newes from Don Luis, for at that time Don Juan was dead, and the 23 came Don Luis his sonne [II. ii. 55.] and Pacheco minding to traffike with us, at which said *Two galies.* day came two galies rowing along the shore from the castle, minding to keepe us from our traffike. The 24 we set saile and chased the galies to the castle againe. The Negros being glad of that required us to goe to *Mowre.* Mowre, which is some 3 leagues behind, and thither would they come for that they stood in feare of the Portugals, and there we remained for the marchants that came out of the countrey which were come with their gold, but Anthonio don Luis his sonne, and Pacheco were aboord the Minion. And the 25 in the morning came the two galies from the castle againe unto us, the weather being very calme, they shot at us and hit us 3 times, and shortly after the wind came from the shore, at which instant we descried the ship, & the caravell comming towards us, then we weighed and set saile, and bare as neere unto them as we could: but it was night or ever wee met with them, and the night being very darke we lost them. The next day plying to the shore, *Cormantin.* at night we agreed to go with Cormantin, but the next morning being the 28 we were but a litle distant from the great ship and the 2 galies, having no wind at all, and the caravell hard aboord the shore. Then being calme, came the 2 galies rowing to the sterne of the Minion, and fought with her the most part of the fore-noone: and in the fight a mischance hapned in the *Much hurt done in the Minion with firing a barrel of gunpouder.* Minions steward-roome by means of a barrell of pouder that tooke fire, wherewith were hurt the master gunner, the steward, and most part of the gunners; which the galies perceiving, began to be more fierce upon them, and with one shot cut halfe her foremast in twaine, that without present remedie shee was not able to beare saile, and presently upon this the great ship sent her boat to the galies, who suddenly departed from us. And after

their departure we went aboord the Minion to counsell what were best to be done, at which time they were sore discomfited. Whereupon we devised what was best to be done: and because wee knew that the Negros neither would nor durst traffike so long as the galies were on the coast; it was therefore agreed that we should prepare our selves to depart to Rio de Sestos, and so we departed *They returne.* that day. The 14 of May in the morning we fell with the land, and when wee came to it, we doubted what place it was, and sent our boates on land to know the trueth, and we found it to be Rio de Barbos, which is to *Rio de Barbos.* the Eastward of sant Andre, and there remained in getting of water untill the 21, where we lost the day before 5 of our men by meanes of overthrowing our blacke pinnasse. *The blacke pinnasse.* The 22 we departed from thence to Rio de Sesto, *Rio de Sesto.* where we arrived the 2 of June, and the 4 wee departed from Rio de Sesto, and arrived (God bee thanked) the 6 of August within sight of the Stert in the West part of England, our men being very sicke and weake. We have not at this present above 20 sound men that are able to labour, and we have of our men 21 dead, and many more very sore hurt and sicke. Master Burton hath bene sicke this 6 weekes, and at this present (God strengthen him) is so weake that I feare he will hardly escape. Herein inclosed your worship shall receive a briefe of all the goods sold by us, & also what commodities we have received for the same. Thus I leave to trouble your worship, reserving all things els to our generall meeting, and to the bringer hereof. From aboord the Primerose the 6 of August 1563.

Your obedient servant

William Rutter.

There are brought home this voiage An. 1563. Elephants teeth 166. weighing 1758 pounds. Graines 22 buts full.

[A meeting

A meeting at Sir William Gerards house the 11 of July 1564. for the setting foorth of a voyage to Guinea, with the Minion of the Queens, the John Baptist of London, and the Merline of M. Gonson.



T this meeting were these chiefe adventurers, Sir William Gerard, sir William Chester, sir Thomas Lodge, Anthonie Hickman, and Edward Castelin. Where it was agreed that Francis Ashbie should be sent to Deptford to M. Gonson for his letters to Peter Pet to goe about the rigging of the Minion upon the Queenes majesties charges, and so the said Francis to repaire with the same letters to Gillingham with money to supplie our charge there.

Also that every one of the five partners shall foorthwith call upon their partners to supply towards this new rigging and victualling, 29 li. 10s. 6d. for every 100 li. value.

Also that every one of the five partners shall foorthwith bring in 50 li. towards the furniture of the premisses.

Likewise it is agreed that if M. Gonson give his consent that the Merline shall be brought about from Bristoll to Hampton, that a letter be drawen whereunto his hand shall be, before order be given for the same.

The successe of this Voiage in part appeareth by certaine briefe relations extracted out of the second voyage of Sir John Hawkins to the West Indies, made in the sayd yeere 1564. which I thought good to set downe for want of further instructions, which hitherto I could not by any meanes come by, albeit I have used all possible indevour for the obtaining of the same: Take them therefore in the meane season as foloweth. [II. ii. 56.]

MAster John Hawkins, with the Jesus of Lubeck a ship of 700. tunnes, and the Salomon, a ship of 7 score, the Tiger a barke of 50, and the Swalow of 30 tunnes, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundred threescore and ten, as also with ordinance and victuall requisite for such a voiage, departed out of Plimmouth the 18 day of October in the yeere of our Lord 1564. with a prosperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foresaile, a marveilous misfortune happened to one of the officers in the ship, who by the pullie of the sheat was slaine out of hand being a sorowfull beginning to them all. And after their setting out 10 leagues to the Sea, hee met the same day with the Minion a ship of the Queens Majesties, whereof was captaine David Carlet, & also her consort the John Baptist of London being bound to Guinea likewise, who hailed one the other after the custome of the sea, with certaine pieces of ordinance for joy of their meeting: which done, the Minion departed from him to seeke her other consort the Merline of London, which was a sterne out of sight, leaving in M. Hawkins companie the John Baptist her other consort. *The Minion of the Queene.*

Thus sailing forwards on their way with a prosperous wind until the 21 of the same moneth, at that time a

great storme arose, the wind being at Northeast about 9 of the clocke at night, and continued so 23 houres together, in which storme M. Hawkins lost the company of the John Baptist aforesaid, and of his pinnasse called the Swallow, the other 3 ships being sore beaten with the storme. The 23 day the Swalow, to his no small rejoicing, came to him againe in the night 10 leagues to the Northward of Cape Finister, having put roomer and not being able to double the Cape, in that there rose a contrary wind at Southwest. The 25 the wind continuing contrary, he put into a place in Galicia called Ferol, where he remained 5 daies and appointed all the masters of his ships an order for the keeping of good company.

The firing and sinking of the Merline bound for Guinea.

The 26 day the Minion came in also where he was, for the rejoycing whereof he gave them certaine pieces of ordinance after the curtesie of the Sea for their welcome, but the Minions men had no mirth because of their consort the Merline, whom at their departure from M. Hawkins upon the coast of England, they went to seeke, and having met with her, kept company two dayes together, and at last by misfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of the gunners) the pouder in the gunners roome was set on fire, which with the first blast stroke out her poope, and therewithall lost 3 men, besides many sore burned (which escaped by the Brigandine being at her sterne) and immediatly to the great losse of the owners, and most horrible sight of the beholders, she sunke before their eies. The 30 day of the moneth M. Hawkins with his consorts and company of the Minion having now both the Brigandines at her sterne, weighed anker, and set saile on their voiage having a prosperous wind thereunto. The 4 of November they had sight of the Iland of Madera, and the 6 day of Teneriffa, which they thought to have bene the Canarie, in that they supposed themselves to have bene to the Eastward of Teneriffa but were not: but the Minion beyng 3 or 4 leagues a head of us kept on her course to Teneriffa,

having better sight thereof then the other had, and by that means they parted company.

The aforesaid Sir John Hawkins passing on his voiage by Cavo Verde, and Sierra Leona, and afterward crossing over the maine Ocean comming to the towne of Burboroata upon the coast of Terra firma in the West Indies, had further information of the evill successe of this Guinean voyage, as in the same hereafter is verbatim mentioned.

The 29 of April, we being at anker without the road, a French ship called the green Dragon of Newhaven, whereof was captaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted us after the maner of the sea, with certaine pieces of ordinance, and we resaluted him with the like againe: with whom having communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mina in Guinea, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and enforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was hapned unto the Minion: also, that captaine David Carlet, & a marchant, with a dozen mariners were betraied by the Negros at their first arrivall thither, remaining prisoners with the Portugals, besides other misadventures of the losse of their men hapned through the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships: which was most sorowfull for us to understand.

[The voyage

[II. ii. 57.] The voyage of M. George Fenner to Guinie, and the Islands of Cape Verde, in the yeere of 1566. with three ships, to wit, the Admirall called the Castle of Comfort, the May Flower, and the George, and a Pinnasse also:

Written by Walter Wren.



He 10 day of December, in the yeere abovesayd, we departed from Plimmouth, and the 12 day we were thwart of Ushant.

The 15 day in the morning being Sunday, wee had sight of Cape Finister, and the same night we lost the company of our Admirall, wherefore we sayled along the coast of Portugall, hoping that our Admirall had bene before us.

The 18 day we met with a French ship of whom wee made inquirie for our Admirall, but he could not tell us newes of him: so we followed our course to the Ilands of the Canaries.

The 25 day in the morning we fell with a small Iland called Porto Santo, & within 3 houres wee had sight of another Iland called Madera which is 6 leagues from Porto Santo.

The said 25 day being the day of the Nativitie, we hoised out our boat, and fet master Edward Fenner captaine of the May Flower aboord us, being in the George, with the master whose name was Robert Cortise and others of the sayd shippe, and feasted them with such cheere as God had sent us.

The 28 day we fel with an Iland called Tenerif, which is 27 leagues from the said Iland, and on the East side thereof we came to an anker in 40 fadome water, within a base shot of the shore, in a litle Baie wherein were 3 or 4 small houses: which Baie and houses were distant from a litle towne called Santa Cruz, a league or thereabout, and as we rode in the said Baie, we might see

an Iland called The grand Canarie which was 6 or 7 leagues from us.

The 29 day the May Flower for that she could not fet into ye road where we were at an anker, by reason the wind was off the shore, & because she bare more roomer from the land then we did, in the morning came bearing in with the towne of Santa Cruz, thinking to come to an anker in the road against the towne, and before she came within the reach of any of their ordinance, they shot at her foure pieces which caused her to come roome with us, and came at last to an anker by us. And about one of the clocke in the afternoone, the forenamed captaine of the May Flower wrote a letter a shore, directing it to the head officer of the towne of Santa Cruz, to the intent to understand the pretense of the shooting off the said ordinance.

The letter being written, Robert Courtise master of the May Flower, and Walter Wren were appointed to deliver the same a land at 3 or 4 houses to bee conveid to the foresayd towne, and so went with six men in the boate, and rowed to the shore as neere as they might, for setting the boat on ground, for the sea went cruelly at the shore.

The people stood in number 30 persons with such armour as they had: the foresayd Wren called to them in Spanish, declaring to them that they had a letter which they would very gladly have conveid unto the towne, shewing that they would traffique with them as marchants, desiring their helpe for the conveiance of the same letter. With that one of the Spaniards willed us to come on land, and we should be welcome, but doubting the worst, the said Walter answered them that they would not come on land, until they had answere of their letter which they had brought.

Whereupon one of the Spaniards unraied himselfe, and lept into the water, and swam to the boat, whom we received. And he saluted us, and demaunded what our request was: we made him answere, that by misfortune

we lost the companie of our Admirall, and being bound to this Iland to traffique for wines and other things necessary for us, do here mind to stay untill he come.

Concerning our letter he made us answere, that he would with all diligence cary it, and deliver it according to the direction, and so the said Walter knit the letter in a bladder, and delivered it unto him, and also gave him foure roials of Spanish money for his paines: and promising that we should have answere of it, he tooke his leave and swamme againe on shore, where the people stood ready to receive him. And after that they had talked with him, and understood our meaning, some of them threw up their hats, & the other put them off holding them in their hands, and made us very curteous signes, alwaies desiring that the boat would come a land, but we resaluting them rowed backe againe aboord.

The 30 day the Governours brother of Santa Cruz came aboord the May Flower with sixe or seven Spaniards with him, who concluded with the Captaine that we might come a shore and traffique with them, but that day we did not, for we had no sufficient pledge of theirs for our assurance. Our Captaine entertained them well, and at [II. ii. 58.] their departure gave them foure pieces of ordinance for a farewell, and bestowed upon them two cheeses with other things.

The sayd Governours brother promised our Captaine that hee should have sufficient pledges the morrow folowing, which was not done, whereupon wee grew suspicious, and went not that day a shore.

The first day of January our captaine sent Nicholas Day and John Sumpter a shore, who were very well entertained with as many of our company as went after them.

In the said Iland is a marveilous high hill called the Pike, which is a far off more like a cloud in the aire, then any other thing: the hill is round and somewhat small at the top, it hath not bene knowen that ever any man could goe up to the top thereof. And although

it stand in 28 degrees which is as hote in January, as it is in England at Midsommer, yet is the top of the said hil Winter and Sommer seldome without snow.

In this Iland about two leagues from the said Santa Cruz is a citie called Anagona.

The third day wee departed about the Westerne point of the Iland, about 12 or 14 leagues from Santa Cruz, into a Baie which is right agaynst the house of one Petro de Souses, in which Baie we came to an anker the 5 day, where we heard that our Admirall had bene there at an anker 7 dayes before us, and was gone thence to an Iland called Gomera, whereupon wee set saile presently to seeke him.

They meet their Admirall againe.

The 6 day we came to an anker against the towne of Gomera, where we found our Admirall, which was very joyfull of our comming, and we also of his sight.

In the sayd road we found Edward Cooke in a tall ship, and a shippe of the Coppersmiths of London, which the Portugals had trecherously surprised in the Baie of Santa Cruz, upon the coast of Barbarie, which ship we left there all spoiled.

Our General & marchants bought in the said towne for our provision, 14 buts of wine, which cost 15 duckats a but, which were offred us at Santa Cruz in Tenerif for 8, 9, and 10 duckats.

The 9 day we departed from this road to another Baie, about 3 leagues off, and there tooke in fresh water: & so the 10 day we set saile towards Cape Blanke, which is on the coast of Guinea.

The 12 day we fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Pargos, which is 35 leagues from Cape Blanke. But having no knowledge of that coast, we went with Cape Blanke, and at the fall of the land we sounded and had 16 fadome water two leagues from the shore. The land is very lowe and white sand. Upon the fall of the sayd coast beware how you borow in 12 or 10 fadome, for within 2 or 3 casts of the lead you may be on ground.

A good caveat.

The 17 day we set saile from Cape Blanke, directing our course South and by East, & South among, and so fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Verde, about 16 leagues, and about sixe leagues from the shore. The sayd land seemed unto us as if it had bene a great number of shippes under saile, being in deed nothing els but the land which was full of Hammoks, some high some lowe, with high trees on them. We bare with the said land till we were within 3 leagues of the shore, and then we sounded, and found 28 fadome water, blacke oase. This day we saw much fish in sundry sculs swimming with their noses with the brim of the water.

Cape Verde. Passing along this coast we might see two small round hils, seeming to us about a league one from the other, which is the Cape, and betweene them are great store of trees, and in all our dayes sailing we saw no land so high as the said two hils.

The 19 day we came to an anker at the Cape, in a roade fast by the Westermost side of two hils in 10 fadome of water where you may ride in five or sixe fadome, for the ground is faire, and alwayes you shall have the winde off the shore. And as soone as we were all at an anker, our Generall came aboord us, and with him the master of the Admirall, whose name was William Bats, and with them the captaine of the Viceadmirall, whose name was master Edward Fenner, and Robert Curtise the master, and dined aboord of us being in the George, wherein was Captaine John Heiwood, and John Smith of Hampton master, and there we concluded to goe aland, which was halfe a mile from us: and by the counsell of William Bats both Captaine and marchants and divers of the companie went without armour: for he sayd, that although the people were blacke and naked, yet they were civill: so that hee would needs give the venter without the consent of the rest to go without weapon. Thus they rowed to shore, where, we being in the shippe might see a great companie of Negros naked, walking to and fro by the sea side where the

The foolish rashnes of Wil. Bats perswading the company to land unarmed.

landing place was, waiting for the comming of our men, who came too soone, and landed to their losse as it fell out afterwards.

There went a shore the Admirals skiffe, and the May Flowers boate, and in them the number of 20 persons or thereabouts, as M. George Fenner the Generall, his brother M. Edward Fenner, Thomas Valentine, John Worme and Francis Leigh marchants, John Haward, William Bats, Nicholas Day, John Tomson and others.

At their comming to the shore there were 100 Negros or upward, with their bowes and arrowes: our Captaines and merchants talked with them, & according to the use of the country, the one demanded pledges of the other, & they were content to deliver 3 of their Negros for 5 of our men. Our 5 mens names were these, John Haward, Wil. Bats, Nich. Day, Joh. Tomson, & John Curtise: these were delivered them, and we received 3 Negros into our Admirals skiffe. [II. ii. 59.]

Civet, muske, gold & grains, the commodities of Cape Verde.

Our men being a shore among the Negros, began to talke with them, declaring what ware and marchandize we had, as woollen cloth, linnen cloth, iron, cheese & other things. The Negros answered againe, they had civet, muske, gold and graines, which pleased our captaines and marchants very well. Then the Negros desired to have a sight of some of our wares, to the which our marchants were content, and forthwith sent aboord one of the boats for part of their marchandise, and in the meane time while the boate went to the ship, our five men were walking on the shore with the Negros, and our Generall and marchants staied in the other boat by the sea side, having the 3 Negros with them.

Our boate then came againe and brought iron and other marchandise, with bread, wine, and cheese which they gave unto them. Then two of the Negros (which were the pledges) made themselves sicke, desiring to goe a shore, promising to send other two for them.

Captaine Haiward perceiving that our men had let the Negros come a shore, asked what they meant, and doubting the worst began to drawe toward the boate, and two or three of the Negros folowed him. And when hee came to the boate they began to stay him, and he made signes unto them that hee would fetch them more drinke and bread: notwithstanding, when he was entering into the boate, one of them caught him by the breeches and would have staied him, but hee sprang from him and leapt into the boate, and as soone as hee was in, one of the Negros a shore beganne to blow a pipe, and presently the other Negro that was in our boate sitting on the boates side, and master Wormes sword by him, suddenly drew the sword out of the scabberd, and cast himselfe into the Sea and swamme a shore, and presently the Negros laied handes on our men that were on shore, and tooke three of them with great violence, and tore all their apparell from their backes and left them nothing to cover them, and many of them shot so thicke at our men in our boates, that they could scarse set hand to any Oare to rowe from the shore, yet (by the helpe of God) they got from them with their boates, although many of them were hurt with their poysoned arrowes: and the poison is uncurable, if the arrow enter within the skin and drawe blood, and except the poison bee presently suckt out, or the place where any man is hurt bee foorthwith cut away, hee dieth within foure dayes, and within three houres after they bee hurt or pricked, wheresoever it be, although but at the litle toe, yet it striketh up to the heart, and taketh away the stomacke, and causeth the partie marveilously to vomite, being able to brooke neither meat nor drinke.

The Negros trecherie.

The Negros having used our men with such cruelty, whose names were Nicholas Day, William Bats and John Tomson, led them away to a towne which was within a mile of the water side, or thereabout.

The 20 day we sent to land a boate or skiffe wherein



GEORGE FENNER

were eight persons, and one of them was the foresayd John Tomson and our interpreter which was a Frenchman, (for there was one of the Negros which spake good French:) and they caried with them two harquebusses, two targets and a mantell.

A French interpreter for Cape Verde.

The cause of sending them was to learne what ransome they demaunded for Bats and Day whom they detained. And when they came to the shore and told the Negros what they desired, they went and fetched them from among the trees, and brought them loose among fortie or fiftie of them. And being come within a stones cast of the sea side, William Bats brake from them, and ran as fast as he could into the sea towards the boat, and he was not so soone in the water but hee fell downe, either being out of breath or his foote failing him in the sand being soft: so that the Negros came and fell on him and tooke him and haled him, that we thought they had torne him in pieces: for they tore againe all the apparell from his backe, so that some of them caried our men againe to the towne, and the rest shot at us with their poisoned arrowes, and hurt one of our men called Androwes in the smal of the leg, who being come aboord, (for al that our Surgeons could do) we thought he would have died.

The danger of poisoned arrowes.

Our Generall (notwithstanding all this villanie) sent agayne to them, and offered them any thing that they desired for the raunsome of our men, but they would not deliver them: giving us this answere: That there was in the foresayd roade, three weekes before wee came, an English shippe which had taken three of their people, and untill wee did bring or send them againe, wee should not have our men although wee would give our three shippes with their furniture.

The answere of the Negros.

The 21 day a French shippe of the burden of 80 tunnes (or thereabouts,) came to the place where we were, being bound to traffique at the Cape: we told them of the detaining of our two men by the Negros: and seeing that these Frenchmen were very well welcome [II. ii. 60.]

to the Negros, we wished them to see whether they could procure them againe of the Negros, and bring them along with them, and our Generall promised the Frenchmen 100 li. to obtaine them. So wee committed the matter to the Frenchmen and departed.

Of our men that were hurt by the Negros arrowes, foure died, and one to save his life had his arme cut off. Androwes that was last of all hurt, lay lame not able to helpe himselfe: onely two recovered of their hurts. So we placed other men in the roomes of those that we lost, and set saile.

The 26 day betweene Cape Verde and Bona vista we sawe many flying fishes of the bignesse of herrings, whereof two flew into our boat, which we towed at our sterne.

Bona vista, The 28 day we fell with an Iland called Bona vista, which is from Cape Verde 86 leagues. The Northside of the sayde Iland is full of white sandie hils and dales, and somewhat high land.

The sayd day wee came to an anker within the Westermost point, about a league within the point, and found in our sounding faire sand in ten fadome water, but you may goe neere till you be in five or six fadome, for the ground is faire.

As soone as we were at an anker, our Generall sent his pinnasse a land, and found five or sixe small houses, but the people were fled into the mountains: and the next day he sent a shore againe, and met with two Portugals, who willingly went aboord with his men, and at their comming he welcommed them, although they were but poore & simple, and gave each of them a paire of shoes, and so set them a shore againe.

The 30 day we weighed & sailed into a Bay within a smal Iland about a league from us, and tooke plentie of divers sortes of fishe. The foresayd Iland lieth in sixteene degrees. And if you meane to anker in the said Bay, you may borow in foure or five fadome of the Southermost point of the sayd Iland, which you may see

when you ride in the road. But beware of the middle of the Baie, for there lieth a ledge of rocks, which at a lowe water breaketh, yet there is three fadome water over them. *A good admonition.*

The last day of Januarie our Generall with certaine of his men went a shore in the Baie to the houses, where he found 12 Portugals. In all the Iland there were not above 30 persons, which were banished men for a time, some for more yeeres, some for lesse, and amongst them there was one simple man which was their captaine. *Banished Portugals.*

They live upon goats flesh, cocks, hennes, and fresh water: other victuals they have none, saving fish, which they esteeme not, neither have they any boats to take them.

They reported that this Iland was given by the king of Portugall to one of his gentlemen, who hath let it foorth to rent for one hundreth duckats a yeere, which rent is reared onely in goats skinnes. For by their speaches there hath bene sent foorth of the sayd Iland into Portugall 40000 skins in one yeere. *Great store of goates.*

We were to these men marveilously welcome, and to their powers very wel entertained, and they gave us the flesh of as many hee-goates as wee would have, and tooke much paines for us in taking them, and bringing them from the mountains upon their asses.

They have there great store of the oyle of Tortoises, which Tortoise is a fish which swimmeth in the Sea, with a shell on his backe as broad as a target. It raineth not in this Iland but in three moneths of the yeere, from the midst of July to the midst of October, and it is here alwayes very hote. Kine have bene brought hither, but by reason of the heate and drought they have died.

The 3 of February wee departed from this Iland, and the same day fell with another Iland called the Iland of Maiyo, which is 14 leagues from the other Iland: there is in the midst of the way between these two Ilands a danger which is alwayes to be seene. *The Ile of Maiyo.*

We ankred in the Northwest side of the sayd Ile in a faire Baie of eight fadomes water and faire sand, but

here we staied not, but the fourth day weighed and sailed
S. Jago. to another Iland called S. Jago, which lieth off the said Iland of Maiyo East and by South, and about five leagues one from the other. Being come within the Westermost point, we saw a faire road, and a small towne by the water side, and also a fort or platforme by it: there we purposed to come to anker, and our marchants to make some sale. But before we came within their shot, they let flie at us two pieces, whereupon we went roomer and sailed along the shore two or three leagues from the road, where we found a small Baie and two or three small houses, where we came to an anker in 14 fadome faire ground.

[II. ii. 61.] Within an houre after we had ankered we might see divers horsemen and footmen on the land right against us riding and running to and fro.

The next day being the fift of Februarie, a great companie of their horsemen and footemen appeared on the shoare side, unto whom our Generall sent to understande whether they would quietly trafike with them: And they sent him worde againe, desiring that they might speake with him, promising that if he came to trafike as a marchant he should be welcome, and also that he should have any thing that he or the marchant would with reason demaund.

When this answere was brought unto our Generall he was very glad thereof and the whole companie, and presently (with as much speede as he could) he caused his boates to be made readie: but doubting the villanie of the Portugales, he armed his boates putting a double base in the head of his pinnesse, and two single bases in the head of the Skiffe, and so sent to the May-floure and the George, and willed them in like sort to man their two boates.

These boates being thus manned and well appointed, our Generall entered into his Skiffe, and with the rest rowed to the shoare where were threescore horsemen or more, and two hundreth footemen readie to receive them. Our Generall marveiled that they came in so great a

number and all armed, and therefore with a flagge of truce sent to them to knowe their pleasure: and they answered him with many faire promises and othes, that their pretence was all true, and that they meant like Gentlemen and Marchantes to trafike with him, declaring also that their Captaine was comming to speake with him, and therefore desired our Generall to come and speake with him himselfe.

With this answere the boate returned, and then our Generall caused his pinnesse to rowe to them, and as he came neere the shoare they came in a great companie with much obeysance, opening their hands and armes abroade, bowing themselves with their bonnets off, with as much humble salutations outwardly as they might: earnestly desiring our Generall and Marchants to come on lande to them, whereunto he would not agree without sufficient gages of Gentlemen and Marchants. At length they promised to sende two gages to our Generals contentment, promising fresh water, victuall, money, or Negroes for ware, if it were such as they liked: and therefore desired our Generall and Marchants to sende them a shoare in writing the quantitie of their wares, and the names of them: all which our Generall departed to performe, looking for their answere the morrowe following. And being gone a litle from the shoare, he caused his bases, curriers, and harquebusses to be shot off, and our ships in like case shot off five or sixe pieces of great ordinance, and so came aboord to prepare the note. The Portugales most of them departed, saving those that were left to watch and to receive the note, which about foure or five a clocke in the afternoone was sent, and it was received. But all the purposes of the Portugals were villainously to betray us (as shal appeare hereafter) although we meant in truth and honestie, friendly to trafike with them.

The treason of the Portugals in S. Jago to our men.

There was to the Westwards of us and about two leagues from us, a towne behinde a point fast by the sea side, where they had certaine Caravels, or shippes and

also two Brigandines, whereof they (with all the speede that they might) made readie foure Caravels, and both the brigandines which were like two Gallies, and furnished them both with men and ordinance as much as they could carrie, and as soone as it was night, they came rowing and falling towardes us: so that the land being high and weather somewhat cloudie or mystie, and they comming all the way close under the shoare we could not see them till they were right against one of our ships called the May-floure.

By this time it was about one or two of the clocke in the morning, and the May-floure roade neerer them then the other two by a base shotte, so that they made a sure account either to have taken her or burnt her. In the meane time our men that had the watch (litle thinking of such villanous treacheries after so many faire wordes) were singing and playing one with the other, and made such a noyse, that (being but a small gale of winde, and riding neere the lande) they might heare us from the shoare: so that we supposed that they made account that we had espyed them, which indeede we had not, neither had any one piece of ordinance primed, or any other thing in a readinesse.

They came so neere us that they were within gunshot of us, & then one of our men chanced to see a light, & then looking out spied the 4 ships, and suddenly cried out, Gallies, gallies, at which cry we were all amazed, and foorthwith they shot at us all the great ordinance that they had, and their harquebusses, and curriers, and so lighted certaine tronkes or pieces of wilde fire, and all of them with one voice (as well they on the shoare as they in the shippes) gave a great shoute, and so continued hallowing with great noyses, still approching neerer and neerer unto the May-floure. We (with all the speede that we might) made readie one piece of ordinance and
[II. ii. 62.] shotte at them, which caused them somewhat to stay, so they charged their ordinance and shot at us freshly againe, and while they shotte this second time at us, we had

made readie three pieces which we shot at them, but they approched still so neere, that at last we might have shot a sheafe arrowe to them. Whereupon we having a gale of winde off the shoare hoysed our foresayle, and cut our cable at the hawse, and went towarde our Admirall, and they continued following and shooting at us, and sometime at our Admirall, but our Admirall shotte one such piece at them, that it made them to retire, and at length to warpe away like traiterous villaines, and although they thus suddenly shot all their shot at us, yet they hurt neither man nor boy of ours, but what we did to them we know not.

But seeing the villanie of these men we thought it best to stay there no longer, but immediatly set sayle towards an Iland called Fuego, 12 leagues from the said Island of S. Jago. At which Island of Fuego we came to an anker the 11 day of this moneth, against a white chappell in the West end of the sayd Island, within halfe a league of a litle towne, and within a league or thereabout of the uttermost point of the said Island. *The Isle of Fuego.*

In this Island is a marveilous high hill which doth burne continually, and the inhabitants reported that about three yeeres past the whole Island was like to be burned with the abundance of fire that came out of it.

About a league from the said chappel to the Westward is a goodly spring of fresh water, where we had as much as we would. Wheate they have none growing here, but a certaine seede that they call Mill, and certaine peason like Guinie peason, which Mill maketh good breade, but they have here good store of rother beasts and goates. Their marchandize is cotton, which groweth there. *Mill.* *Cotton in Fuego.*

The inhabitants are Portugals which have commandement from the king to trafike neither with Englishmen nor Frenchmen for victuall or any other thing, except they be forced so to doe.

There lieth off this Island another called Ilha Brava, which is not passing two leagues over, it hath good store *The Isle of Brava.*

of goates and many trees, but there are not passing three or foure persons dwelling in it.

They returne. March. The 25 day of February we departed towardes the Islands of Azores: and on the 23 day of March we had sight of one of them called Flores, and then wee might see another Island to the Northward of it called Cuervo, lying two leagues or thereabouts off the other.

The 27 we came to an anker in Cuervo over against a village of about twelve simple houses; but in the night by a gale of winde, which caused us to drawe our anker after us, we hoysed sayle and went to the aforesayd Island of Flores, where we sawe strange streames of water running downe from the high cliffes by reason of the great abundance of raine that had suddenly fallen.

The 29 day we came againe to Cuervo and cast anker, but a storme arose and continued seven or eight houres together, so that we let slip a cable and anker, and after the storme was alayed we came againe thinking to have recovered the same, but the Portugals had either taken it, or spoiled it: the cable was new and never wet before, and both the cable and anker were better worth then 40 li. So that we accompt our selves much beholding to the honest Portugales.

Aprill. The 18 day of April we tooke in water at the Island of Flores, and having ankered, our cable was fretted in sunder with a rocke and so burst, where wee lost that cable and anker also, and so departed to our coast.

Then wee set sayle to an Islande named Faial, about the which lie three other Islands, the one called Pico, the other Saint George, and the other Graciosa, which we had sight of on the eight and twentieth day.

The 29 we came to an anker in the Southwest side of Faial in a faire bay, and 22 fadom water against a litle towne where we had both fresh water and fresh victuall. In this Island by the report of the inhabitants, there *Woad.* groweth certaine greene woad, which by their speeches is farre better then the woad of S. Michael or of Tercera.

May. The 8 day of May we came to Tercera where we met

with a Portugall ship, and being destitute of a cable and anker, our Generall caused us to keepe her companie, to see if she could conveniently spare us any. The next morning we might see bearing with us a great shippe and two Caravels, which we judged to be of the king of Portugals Armada, and so they were, whereupon we prepared our selves for our defence. The said ship was one of the kings Galliasses, about the burden of foure hundred tunnes, with about three hundred men in her, the shippe being well appointed with brasse pieces both great and small, and some of them so bigge that their shot was as great as a mans head, the other two Caravels were also very warlike and well appointed both with men and munition.

A Portugall Galiasse of 400 tunnes.

As soone as they were within shotte of us, they waved us amaine with their swords, we keeping our course, the greatest shippe shot at us freely and the caravell also, and we prepared our selves, and made all things cleare for our safegard as neere as we could. Then the great shippe shot at us all her broad side, and her foure greatest pieces that lay in her sterne, and therewith hurt some of our men, and we did the best we could with our shot to requite it. At last two other Caravels came off the shoare, and two other pinnesses full of men, and delivered them aboord the great shippe, and so went backe againe with two men in a piece of them. The ship and the Caravell gave us the first day three fights, and when the night was come they left off shooting, yet notwithstanding kept hard by us all the night. In the meane time we had as much as wee could doe all the night to mende our ropes, and to strengthen our bulwarkes, putting our trust in God, and resolving our selves rather to die in our defence then to bee taken by such wretches. [II. ii. 63.]

A fight betweene one English ship and 7 Portugals.

The next day being the 10 of May in the morning, there were come to aide the said Portugals foure great Armadas or Caravels more which made seven, of which 4 three of them were at the least 100 tunnes a piece, the other not so bigge, but all well appointed and full of men.

All these together came bearing with us being in our Admirall, and one of the great Caravels came to lay us aboorde (as we judged) for they had prepared their false nettings, and all things for that purpose, so that the Gallias came up in our larboord side, and the Caravell in our starboord side.

Our Captaine and Master perceiving their pretence, caused our gunners to make all our ordinance readie with crossebarres, chaineshotte and haileshot: so the ship and Caravell came up, and as soone as they were right in our sides, they shotte at us as much ordinance as they could, thinking to have layde us presently aboord: whereupon we gave them such a heate with both our sides, that they were both glad to fall asterne of us, & so paused the space of two or three houres being a very small gale of winde.

Then came up the other five and shot all at us, and so fell all asterne of us, & then went to counsell together.

Then our small barke named the George came to us, and wee conferred together a great space. And as the Portugall shippes and Caravels were comming to us againe, our barke minding to fall asterne of us and so to come up againe, fell quickly upon the lee, and by reason of the litle winde, it was so long before she could fill her sailes againe, that both the shippe and Caravels were come up to us, and she falling in among them made reasonable shift with them, but they got a head of her, so that she could not fetch us: then 5 of the Caravels followed her, but we saw she defended her selfe against them all.

Then came the great shippe and the Caravell to us, and fought with us all that day with their ordinance.

The May-floure our other consort being very good by the winde, tooke the benefite thereof and halde all that day close by the winde, but could not come neere us. So when night againe was come, they gave over their fight and followed us all the night.

In these many fights it could not otherwise be but needes some of our men must be slaine, (as they were indeede) and divers hurt, and our tackle much spoyled: yet for all this we did our best indevour to repaire all things, and to stand to it to the death with our assured trust in the mercie and helpe of God.

This night the May-floure came up to us, and our Captaine tolde them his harmes and spoyles, and wished them if they could spare halfe a dosen fresh men to hoyse out their boate and sende them to him, but they could not spare any, and so bare away againe. Which when our enemies sawe in the next morning that we were one from another, they came up to us again and gave us a great fight with much hallowing and hooping, making accompt either to boorde us or els to sinke us: but although our companie was but small, yet least they should see us any whit dismayed, when they hallowed we hallowed also as fast as they, and waved to them to come and boorde us if they durst, but that they would not, seeing us still so couragious: and having given us that day foure fights, at night they forsooke us with shame, as they came to us at the first with pride. *The 7 Portugals depart with shame from one English ship.*

They had made in our ship some leakes with their shot which we againe stopped with al speed, and that being done, we tooke some rest after our long labour and trouble.

The next day in the morning the May-floure came to us, and brought us sixe men in her boate which did us much pleasure, and we sent to them some of our hurt men.

Then we directed our course for our owne countrey, and by the second day of June we were neere to our owne coast and sounded being thwart the Lyzard. *June.*

The third day we had sight of a shippe which was a Portugall, who bare with us, and at his comming to us (the weather being calme) our Captaine caused him to hoyse foorth his boate to come aboord to speake with him, and at their comming our Captaine and Marchants [II. ii. 64.]

demanded of them what ware they had, and whither they were bound, and they made answere that their lading was sugar and cotton. Then our Captaine and Marchants shewed them five Negroes that we had, and asked them whether they would buy them, which they were very desirous to doe, and agreed to give for them 40 chests of sugar, which chests were small having not above 26 loaves in a piece: so they with their boate did fetch five of the chestes and delivered them and went for more, and when they had laden their boate and were come againe, we might see bearing with us a great ship and a small, which our Captaine supposed to be men of warre or Rovers, and then willed the Portugales to carie their sugar to their ship againe, purposing to make our selves readie for our defence. But the Portugales earnestly intreated our Captaine not so to forsake them, and promised him (if he would safegard them) to give him above the bargaine ten chests of sugar: whereupon our Captaine was content, and the Portugall not being good of sayle, we spared our topsayles for her: so at last the foresaid ship bare with us, and (seeing that we did not feare them) gave us over. And the next morning came two others bearing with us, and seeing us not about to flie a jot from them forsooke us also.

A Portugall ship (notwithstanding all their vilanies) defended by our men from Rovers.

The 5 day of June we had sight of the Stert, and about noone we were thwart of the bay of Lime, and so sounded and had 35 fadom water.

The sixt day we came in at the Needles and so came to an anker under the Isle of Wight at a place called Meadhole, and from thence sayled to Southampton where we made an ende of this voyage.

The Ambassage of M. Edmund Hogan, one of the sworne Esquires of her Majesties person, from her Highnesse to Mully Abdelmelech Emperour of Marocco, and king of Fes and Sus: in the yeere 1577, written by himselfe.



Edmund Hogan being appointed Ambassadour from the Queenes Majestie to the above named Emperour and King Mully Abdelmelech, departed with my company and servants from London the two and twentie day of Aprill 1577, being imbarked in the good ship called the Gallion of London, and arrived in Azafi a port of Barbarie the one and twentie day of May next following. Immediatly I sent Leonell Edgerton a shoare with my letters directed to John Williams and John Bampton, who dispatched a Trottero to Marocco to knowe the kings pleasure for my repaire to the Court, which letters came to their hands on the Thursday night.

M. Hogan his arrival at Azafi in Barbarie. May.

They with all speede gave the king understanding of it, who being glad thereof speeded the next day certaine Captaines with souldiers and tents, with other provision to Azafi: so that upon Whitsunday at night the said Captaines with John Bampton, Robert Washborne, and Robert Lion, and the kings officers came late to Azafi.

In the meane time I remained a boord, and caused some of the goods to be discharged for lightning of the shippe, and I wrote in my letter that I would not lande, till I knewe the Kings pleasure.

The 22 day being Saturday, the Make-speede arrived in the roade about two of the clocke in the afternoone.

The 27 day, being Whitsunday, came aboord the Gallion John Bampton, and others, giving me to understande how much the King rejoyced of my safe

arrivall, comming from the Queenes Majestie, and how that for my safe conduct to the Court he had sent foure Captaines and an hundred souldiers well appointed, with a horse furnished which he used himselfe to ride on with all other furniture accordingly: they wished mee also to come on lande in the best order I could, as well for my selfe as my men, which I did, having to the number of tenne men, whereof three were trumpetters.

The ships being foure appointed themselves in the best order they could for the best shew, and shot off all their ordinance to the value of twentie Markes in powder.

At my comming a shoare, I found all the souldiers well appointed on horsebacke, the Captaines and the Governour of the towne standing as neere the water side as they could, with a Jennet of the kings, and received mee from the boate declaring how glad his Majestie was of my safe arrivall, comming from the Queenes Majestie my Mistresse, and that hee had sent them to attend upon me, it being his pleasure that I should tarie there on shoare five or sixe dayes for my refreshing.

[II. ii. 65.] So being mounted upon the Jennet, they conducted mee through the Towne into a faire fielde upon the Sea-side where was a tent provided for mee, and all the ground spread with Turkie carpets, and the Castle discharged a peale of ordinance, and all things necessarie were brought into my tent, where I both tooke my table and lodging, and had other convenient tents for my servants.

In Barbary they have no Innes but they lodge in open fieldes where they can find water.

The souldiers environed the tents, and watched about us day and night as long as I lay there, although I sought my speedier dispatch.

On the Wednesday towards night, I tooke my horse and traveiled ten miles to the first place of water that we could finde, and there pitched our tents till the next morning, and so traveiled till ten of the clocke,

and then pitched our tents till foure, and so traveiled as long as day light would suffer about 26 miles that day.

The next day being Friday I traveiled in like order but eight and twentie miles at the most, and by a River being about sixe miles within sight of the Citie of Marocco we pitched our tents.

Immediatly after came all our English marchants, and the French on horsebacke to meete me, and before night there came an Alcayde from the king with fiftie men, & divers mules laden with victuall and banket, for my supper, declaring unto me how glad the king shewed himselfe to heare of the Queenes Majestie, and that his pleasure was I should be received into his countrey as never any Christian the like: and desired to knowe what time the next day I would come into his citie, because he would that all the Christians as also his nobilitie should meete me, and willed John Bampton to be with him early in the morning, which he did.

The singular humanitie of the king to our Ambassadour.

About seven of the clocke being accompanied with the French and English marchants, and a great number of souldiers, I passed towards the citie, and by that time I had traveiled 2 miles, there met me all the Christians of the Spaniards and Portugals to receive me, which I knowe was more by the kings commandement then of any good wils of themselves: for some of them although they speake me faire hung downe their heads like dogs, and especially the Portugales, and I countenanced them accordingly.

The Spaniards and Portugales were commanded by the king in paine of death, to meete the English Ambassadour.

So I passed on till I came within two English miles of the Citie, and then John Bampton returned, shewing me that the king was so glad of my comming, that hee could not devise to doe too much, to shewe the good will that hee did owe to the Queenes Majestie, and her Realme.

His counsellers met me without the gates, and at the entrie of the gates, his footmen & guard were

placed on both sides of my horse, and so brought me to the kings palace.

The king sate in his chaire with his Counsell about him, as well the Moores as the Elchies, and according to his order given unto me before, I there declared my message in Spanish, and made deliverie of the Queenes Majesties letters, and all that I spake at that present in Spanish, hee caused one of his Elchies to declare the same to the Moores present, in the Larbe tongue.

Which done, he answered me againe in Spanish, yeelding to the Queenes Majestie great thankes, and offering himselfe and his countrey to bee at her Graces commaundement, and then commaunded certaine of his Counsellers to conduct mee to my lodging, not being farre from the Court.

The house was faire after the fashion of that countrey, being daily well furnished with al kind of victuall at the kings charge.

The same night he sent for mee to the Court, and I had conference with him about the space of two houres, where I throughly declared the charge committed unto mee from her Majestie, finding him conformable, willing to pleasure and not to urge her Majestie with any demaundes, more then conveniently shee might willingly consent unto, hee knowing that out of his countrey the Realme of England might be better served with lackes, then hee in comparison from us.

The king of Spaine sought to disgrace the Queene & her Ambassadour.

Further he gave me to understand, that the king of Spaine had sent unto him for a licence, that an Ambassadour of his might come into his countrey, and had made great meanes that if the Queenes majesty of England sent any unto him, that he would not give him any credit or intertainment, albeit (said he) I know what the king of Spaine is, and what the Queene of England and her Realme is: for I neither like of him nor of his religion, being so governed by the Inquisition that he can doe nothing of himselfe.

Therefore when he commeth upon the licence which I have granted, he shall well see how litle account I will make of him and Spaine, and how greatly I will extoll you for the Queenes majestie of England.

He shall not come to my presence as you have done, and shall dayly: for I minde to accept of you as my companion and one of my house, whereas he shall attend twentie dayes after he hath done his message. [II. ii. 66.]

After the end of this speech I delivered Sir Thomas Greshams letters, when as he tooke me by the hand, and led me downe a long court to a palace where there ranne a faire fountaine of water, and there sitting himselfe in a chaire, he commanded me to sit downe in another, and there called for such simple Musicians as he had.

The king of Barbarie sent into England for Musicians.

Then I presented him with a great base Lute, which he most thankfully accepted, and then he was desirous to heare of the Musicians, and I tolde him that there was great care had to provide them, and that I did not doubt but upon my returne they should come with the first ship. He is willing to give them good intertainment with provision of victuall, and to let them live according to their law and conscience wherein he urgeth none to the contrary.

I finde him to be one that liveth greatly in the feare of God, being well exercised in the Scriptures, as well in the olde Testament as also in the New, and he beareth a greater affection to our Nation then to others because of our religion, which forbiddeth worship of Idols, and the Moores called him the Christian king.

A rich gift bestowed upon our Ambassadour.

The same night being the first of June, I continued with him till twelve of the clocke, and he seemed to have so good liking of me, that he tooke from his girdle a short dagger being set with 200 stones, rubies and turkies, and did bestow it upon me, and so I being conducted returned to my lodging for that time.

The next day because he knew it to be Sunday & our Sabboth day he did let me rest. But on the munday in the afternoone he sent for me, and I had conference with him againe, and musicke.

Likewise on the tuesday by three of the clocke he sent for me into his garden, finding him layd upon a silke bed complayning of a sore leg: yet after long conference he walked into another Orchard, where as having a faire banketting-house and a great water, and a new gallie in it, he went aboord the gallie and tooke me with him, and passed the space of two or three houres, shewing the great experience he had in Gallies, wherein (as he said) he had exercised himselfe eighteene yeres in his youth.

After supper he shewed me his horses and other commodities that he had about his house, and since that night I have not seene him, for that he hath kept in with his sore legge, but he hath sent to me daily.

June. The 13 of June at sixe of the clocke at night I had againe audience of the king, and I continued with him till midnight, having debated as well for the Queenes commission as for the well dealing with her marchants for their traffike here in these parts, saying, he would do much more for the Queenes majesty and the Realme, offering that all English ships with her subjects may with good securitie enter into his ports and dominions as well in trade of marchandize, as for victuall & water, as also in time of warre with any her enemies to bring in prises and to make sales as occasion should serve, or else to depart againe with them at their pleasure.

The offers of the king to our English merchants.

Likewise for all English ships that shall passe along his coast of Barbarie, & thorow the straites into the Levant seas, that he would graunt safe conduct that the said ships and marchants with their goods might passe into the Levant seas, and so to the Turks dominions, and the king of Argiers, as his owne, and that he would write to the Turke and to the king of Argier his letters for the well using of our ships and goods.

Also that hereafter no Englishmen that by any meanes may be taken captives, shall be solde within any of his dominions: whereupon I declared that the Queenes majesty accepting of these his offers was pleased to confirme the intercourse & trade of our marchants within

this his countrey, as also to pleasure him with such commodities as he should have need of, to furnish the necessities and wants of his countrey in trade of marchandize, so as he required nothing contrarie to her honour and law, and the breach of league with the Christian princes her neighbours. *A good proviso.*

The same night I presented the king with the case of combes, and desired his majestie to have special regard that the ships might be laden backe againe, for that I found litle store of salt-peter in readinesse in John Bamptons hands. He answered me that I should have all the assistance therein that he could, but that in Sus he thought to have some store in his house there, as also that the Mountayners had made much in a readinesse: I requested that he would send downe, which he promised to doe.

The eighteene day I was with him againe and so continued there till night, and he shewed me his house with pastime in ducking with water-Spaniels, and baiting buls with his English dogges.

At this time I mooved him againe for the sending downe to Sus, which he granted to doe, and the 24. day there departed Alcayde Mammie, with Lionell Edgerton, and Rowland Guy to Sus, and caried with them for our accompts and his company the kings letters to his brother Muly Hammet, and Alcayde Shauan, and the Viceroy. [II. ii. 67.]

The 23. day the king sent me out of Marocco to his garden called Shersbonare, with his gard, and Alcayde Mamoute, and the 24. at night I came to the court to see a Morris dance, and a play of his Elchies. He promised me audience the next day being Tuesday, but he put it off till Thursday: and the Thursday at night I was sent for to the king after supper, and then he sent Alcayde Rodwan, and Alcayde Gowry to conferre with me, but after a little talke I desired to be brought to the King for my dispatch. And being brought to him, I preferred two bils of John Bamptons which he had made for provision of Salt-peter: also two bils for the

quiet traffique of our English Marchants, and bils for sugars to be made by the Jewes, as well for the debts past, as hereafter, and for good order in the Ingenios. Also I mooved him againe for the Salt-peter, and other dispatches, which he referred to be agreed upon by the two Alcaydes. But the Friday being the 20. the Alcaydes could not intend it, and upon Saturday Alcayde Rodwan fell sicke, so on Sunday we made meanes to the King, and that afternoone I was sent for to conferre upon the bargaine with the Alcaydes and others, but did not agree.

Upon Tuesday I wrote a letter to the King for my dispatch, and the same afternoone I was called againe to the Court, and referred all things to the King, accepting his offer of Salt-peter.

That night againe the King had me into his Gallie, and the Spaniels did hunt the ducke.

The Thursday I was appointed to way the 300. kintals grosse of Salt-peter, and that afternoone the Tabybe came unto mee to my lodging, shewing mee that the king was offended with John Bampton for divers causes.

The Sunday night late being the 7. of July, I got the King to forgive all to John Bampton, and the King promised me to speake againe with me upon Munday.

Upon Tuesday I wrote to him againe for my dispatch, and then hee sent Fray Lewes to mee, and said that he had order to write.

Upon Wednesday I wrote againe, and he sent me word that upon Thursday I should come and be dispatched, so that I should depart upon Friday without faile, being the twelfth of July.

The Emperor of Maroco his privileges to the English.

So the friday after according to the kings order & appointment I went to the court, & whereas motion and petition was made for the confirmation of the demaunds which I had preferred, they were all granted, and likewise the privileges which were on the behalfe of our English marchants requested, were with great favour and readinesse yeelded unto. And whereas the Jewes there resident were to our men in certaine round

summes indebted, the Emperors pleasure and commandement was, that they should without further excuse or delay, pay and discharge the same. And thus at length I was dismissed with great honour and speciall countenance, such as hath not ordinarily bene shewed to other Ambassadors of the Christians.

And touching the private affaires intreated upon betwixt her Majestie and the Emperour, I had letters from him to satisfie her highnesse therein. So to conclude, having received the like honourable conduct from his Court, as I had for my part at my first landing, I embarked my selfe with my foresaid company, and arriving not long after in England, I repaired to her Majesties court, & ended my Ambassage to her highnesse good liking, with relation of my service performed.

The voyage of Thomas Stukeley, wrongfully called Marques of Ireland, into Barbary 1578. Written by Johannes Thomas Freigius in Historia de cæde Sebastiani Regis Lusitaniæ.

VEnerant autem ad regem etiam sexcenti Itali, quos Papa subministrarat, Comiti Irlandiæ: qui cum Vlissiponem tribus instructis navibus appulisset Regi operam suam condixit, eumque in bellum sequi promisit. Cap. 7.

Totum exercitum divisit in quatuor acies quadratas: In dextro latere primum agmen erat Velitum & militum Tingitanorum, eosqùe ducebat Alvarus Peresius de Tavara: sinistram aciem seu mediam tenebant Germani & Itali, quibus imperabat Marchio Irlandiæ, &c. Cap. 11.

Inter nobiles qui in hoc prælio ceciderunt, fuerunt, præter regem Sebastianum, dux de Avero, Episcopi Conimbricensis & Portuensis, Commissarius generalis à Papa missus Marchio Irlandiæ, Christophorus de Tavora, & plures alii. Cap. 13.

The same in English.

THere came also to Don Sebastian the King of Portugal 600. Italians, whom the Pope sent under the conduct of the * Marques of Irland: who being arrived at Lisbone with three tall ships, proffered his service to the king, and promised to attend upon him in the warres, &c.

Thomas Stukeley was wrongfully indued with this title. [II. ii. 68.]

He divided the whole Armie into 4. squadrons: upon the right wing stood the first squadron, consisting of men lightly armed or skirmishers and of the souldiers of Tangier, Generall of whom was Don Alvaro Perez de Tavara: the left or midle squadron consisted of Germanes and Italians, under the command of the Marques of Irland, &c. cap. 7.

Of Noblemen were slaine in this battell (besides Don Sebastian the king) the duke de Avero, the two bishops of Coimbra & of Porto, the Marques of Irland sent by the Pope as his Commissary generall, Christopher de Tavara, and many others. cap. 13.

IT is further also to be remembred, that divers other English gentlemen were in this battell, whereof the most part were slaine; and among others M. Christopher Lyster was taken captive, and was there long detained in miserable servitude. Which gentleman although at length he happily escaped the cruel hands of the Moores; yet returning home into England, and for his manifold good parts being in the yeere 1586. employed by the honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in a voyage intended by the Streights of Magellan for the South sea, as Viceadmirall, (wherein he shewed singular resolution and courage) and appointed afterward in divers places of speciall command and credite, was last of all miserably drowned in a great and rich Spanish prize upon the coast of Cornwall.

Certaine reports of the province of China learned through the Portugals there imprisoned, and chiefly by the relation of Galeotto Perera, a Gentleman of good credit, that lay prisoner in that Countrey many yeeres. Done out of Italian into English by Richard Willes.

THis land of China is parted into 13. Shires, the which sometimes were ech one a kingdome by it selfe, but these many yeeres they have bene all subject unto one King. Fuquien is made by the Portugals the first Shire, because there their troubles began, & they had occasion thereby to know the rest. In this shire be 8. cities, but one principally more famous then others called Fuquieo, the other seven are reasonably great, the best knowen whereof unto the Portugals is Cinceo, in respect of a certaine haven joyning thereunto, whither in time past they were wont for marchandise to resort. *Fuquien.* *Cinceo.*

Cantan is the second shire, not so great in quantitie, as well accompted of, both by the king thereof, and also by the Portugals, for that it lieth neerer unto Malacca then any other part of China, and was first discried by the Portugals before any other shire in that province: this shire hath in it seven Cities. *Cantan.*

Chequeam is the third shire, the chiefest Citie therein is Donchion, therein also standeth Liampo, with other 13. or 14. boroughes: countrey townes therin are too too many to be spoken of. *Chequeam.*

The fourth shire is called Xutiamfu, the principall Citie thereof is great Pachin, where the King is alwayes resident. In it are fifteene other very great Cities: of other townes therein, and boroughes well walled and trenched about, I wil say nothing. *Xutiamfu.*

The fift shire hath name Chelim: the great Citie Nanquin chiefe of other fifteene cities was herein of *Chelim.*

ancient time the royall seat of the Chinish kings. From this shire, & from the aforesaid Chequeam forward bare rule the other kings, until the whole region became one kingdome.

Quianci, or, Quinzi. The 6. shire beareth the name Quianci, as also the principal City thereof, wherein the fine clay to make vessels is wrought. The Portugals being ignorant of this Countrey, and finding great abundance of that fine clay to be solde at Liampo, and that very good cheape, thought at the first that it had bene made there, howbeit in fine they perceived that the standing of Quinzi more neere unto Liampo then to Cinceo or Cantan was the cause of so much fine clay at Liampo: within the compasse of Quinci shire be other 12. cities.

The 7. shire is Quicin, the 8. Quansi, the 9. Confu, the 10. Urnan, the 11. Sichiva. In the first hereof there be 16. Cities, in the next 15: how many Townes the other 3. have, wee are ignorant as yet, as also of the proper names of the 12. and 13. shires, and the townes therein.

This finally may be generally said hereof, that the greater shires in China province may bee compared with mightie kingdomes.

In eche one of these shires bee set Ponchiassini and Anchiassini, before whom are handled the matters of other Cities. There is also placed in ech one a Tutan, as you would say, a governour, and a Chian, that is a visiter, as it were: whose office is to goe in circuit, and to see justice exactly done. By these meanes so uprightly things are ordered there, that it may be worthily accompted one of the best governed provinces in all the world.

Pachin. The king maketh alwayes his abode in the great city Pachin, as much to say in our language, as by the name thereof I am advertised, the towne of the kingdome. This kingdome is so large, that under five monethes you are not able to travaile from the Townes by the Sea side to the Court, and backe againe, no not under three

[II. ii. 69.]

monethes in poste at your urgent businesse. The post-horses in this Countrey are litle of body, but swift of foote. Many doe traveile the greater part of this journey by water in certaine light barkes, for the multitude of Rivers commodious for passage from one Citie to another.

Their moneths.

The King, notwithstanding the hugenesse of his kingdome, hath such a care thereof, that every Moone (for by the Moones they reckon their monethes) he is advertised fully of whatsoever thing happeneth therein, by these meanes following.

The whole province being divided into shires, and ech shire having in it one chiefe and principall Citie, whereunto the matters of all the other Cities, Townes and boroughes, are brought, there are drawen in every chiefe Citie aforesaid intelligences of such things as doe monethly fall out, and be sent in writing to the Court. If happely in one moneth every Post be not able to goe so long a way, yet doeth there notwithstanding once every moneth arrive one Poste out of the shire. Who so commeth before the new moone stayeth for the delivery of his letters until the moone be changed. Then likewise are dispatched other Posts backe into all the 13. shires againe.

Before that we doe come to Cinceo wee have to passe through many places, and some of great importance. For this Countrey is so well inhabited neere the Sea side, that you cannot goe one mile but you shal see some Towne, borough or hostry, the which are so aboundantly provided of all things, that in the Cities and townes they live civily. Neverthelesse such as dwel abrode are very poore, for the multitude of them every where is so great, that out of a tree you shall see many times swarme a number of children, where a man would not have thought to have found any one at all.

From these places in number infinite, you shall come unto two Cities very populous, and, being compared with Cinceo, not possibly to be discerned which is the greater

of them. These cities are as well walled as any Cities in all the world. As you come in to either of them, there standeth so great and mighty a bridge, that the like thereof I have never seene in Portugal nor else where. I heard one of my fellowes say, that hee tolde in one bridge 40. arches. The occasion wherefore these bridges are made so great is, for that the Countrey is toward the sea very plaine and low, and overflowed ever as the sea water encreaseth. The breadth of the bridges, although it bee well proportioned unto the length thereof, yet are they equally built, no higher in the middle then at either ende, in such wise that you may see directly from the one ende to the other: the sides are wonderfully well engraved after the maner of Rome-workes. But that we did most marveile at was therewithall the hugenesse of the stones, the like whereof, as we came in to the Citie, we did see many set up in places dis-habited by the way, to no small charges of theirs, howbeit to little purpose, whereas no body seeth them but such as doe come by. The arches are not made after our fashion, vauted with sundry stones set together: but paved, as it were, whole stones reaching from one piller to an other, in such wise that they lye both for the arches heads, and galantly serve also for the high way. I have bene astonied to beholde the hugenesse of the aforesaid stones: some of them are xii. pases long and upward, the least 11. good pases long, and an halfe.

The wayes echwhere are galantly paved with foure-square stone, except it be where for want of stone they use to lay bricke: in this voyage wee travailed over certaine hilles, where the wayes were pitched, and in many places no worse paved then in the plaine ground. This causeth us to thinke, that in all the world there bee no better workemen for buildings, then the inhabitants of China. The Countrey is so well inhabited, that no one foote of ground is left untilled: small store of cattell have we seene this day, we saw onely certaine oxen wherewithall the countreymen do plow their ground.

One oxe draweth the plough alone, not onely in this shire, but in other places also, wherein is greater store of cattell. These countreymen by arte do that in tillage, which we are constrained to doe by force. Here be solde the voydings of close stooles, although there wanteth not the dung of beastes: and the excrements of man are good marchandise throughout all China. The dungfermers seek in every streete by exchange to buy this durtie ware for herbs and wood. The custome is very good for keeping the Citie cleane. There is great aboundance of hennes, geese, duckes, swine, and goates, wethers have they none: the hennes are solde by weight, and so are all other things. Two pound of hennes flesh, geese, or ducke, is worth two foi of their money, that is, d.ob.sterling. Swines flesh is sold at a penie the pound. Beefe beareth the same price, for the scarcitie thereof, howbeit Northward from Fuquieo and farther off from the seacoast, there is beefe more plentie and solde better cheape; We have had in all the Cities we passed through, great abundance of all these victuals, beefe onely excepted. And if this Countrey were like unto India, the inhabitants whereof eate neither henne, beefe, nor porke, but keepe that onely for the Portugals and Moores, they [II. ii. 70.] would be sold here for nothing. But it so falling out, that the Chineans are the greatest eaters in all the world, they do feed upon all things, specially on porke, which, the fatter it is, is unto them the lesse lothsome. The highest price of these things aforesaid I have set downe, better cheape shal you sometimes buy them for the great plentie thereof in this countrey. Frogs are solde at the same price that is made of hennes, and are good meate amongst them, as also dogs, cats, rats, snakes, and all other uncleane meates.

The Cities be very gallant, specially neere unto the gates, the which are marveilously great, and covered with iron. The gatehouses are built on high with towers, & the lower part thereof is made of bricke & stone, proportionally with the walls, from the walls upward the

building is of timber, and many stories in it one above the other. The strength of their townes is in the mightie walles and ditches, artillerie have they none.

The streetes in Cinceo, and in all the rest of the Cities we have seene are very faire, so large and so straight, that it is wonderfull to behold. Their houses are built with timber, the foundations onely excepted, the which are layd with stone: in ech side of the streetes are pentises or continuall porches for the marchants to walke under: the breadth of the streets is neverthelesse such, that in them 15. men may ride commodiously side by side. As they ride they must needs passe under many high arches of triumph that crosse over the streetes made of timber, and carved diversly, covered with tiles of fine clay: under these arches the Mercers do utter their smaller wares, & such as list to stand there are defended from raine and the heate of the Sunne. The greater gentlemen have these arches at their doores: although some of them be not so mightily built as the rest.

I shall have occasion to speake of a certaine order of gentlemen that are called Louteas. I wil first therefore *Loutea.* expound what this word signifieth. Loutea is as much to say in our language as Sir, and when any of them calleth his name, he answereth Sir: and as we do say, that the king hath made some gentleman, so say they, that there is made a Loutea. And for that amongst them the degrees are divers both in name and office, I will tell you onely of some principals, being not able to advertise you of all.

The maner how gentlemen are created Louteas, and do come to that honour and title, is by the giving of a broad girdle, not like to the rest, and a cap, at the commaundement of the king. The name Loutea is more generall & common unto mo, then the equalitie of honour thereby signified agreeth withall. Such Louteas as doe serve their prince in weightie matters for justice, are created after trial made of their learning: but the other which serve in smaller affaires, as Captaines, constables,

sergeants by land and sea, receivers and such like, whereof there be in every citie, as also in this, very many, are made for favour: the chiefe Louteas are served kneeling.

The whole province of China is divided, as I have said, into 13. shires, in every shire at the least is one governour called there Tutan, in some shires there be two.

Chiefe in office next unto them be certaine other named Chians, that is, high Commissioners as you would say, or visiters, with full authoritie in such wise, that they doe call unto an accompt the Tutans themselves, but their authoritie lasteth not in any shire longer then one yere. Neverthelesse in every shire being at the least 7. cities, yea, in some of them 15. or 16. beside other boroughes and townes not well to be numbred, these visiters where they come are so honoured and feared, as though they were some great princes. At the yeres end, their circuit done, they come unto that Citie which is chiefe of others in the shire, to do justice there: finally busying themselves in the searching out of such as are to receive the order of Louteas, whereof more shalbe said in another place. *Chian, or, Chaen.*

Over and besides these officers, in the cheife City of ech one of these aforesaid 13. provinces, is resident one Ponchiassi, Captaine thereof, and treasurer of all the kings revenues. This Magistrate maketh his abode in one of the foure greatest houses that be in all these head Cities. And although the principall part of his function be to be Captaine, to be treasourer of the revenues in that province, & to send these revenues at appointed times to the Court: yet hath he notwithstanding by his office also to meddle with matters appertaining unto justice. *Ponchiassi.*

In the second great house dwelleth an other Magistrate called Anchiassi, a great officer also, for he hath dealings in all matters of justice. Who although he be somewhat inferior in dignitie unto the Ponchiassi, yet for his great dealings and generall charge of justice, whosoever seeth the affaires of the one house and the other might judge this Anchiassi to be the greater. *Anchiassi, or Hexasi.*

Tuzi. Tuzi, an other officer so called, lieth in the thirde house, a magistrate of importance, specially in things belonging unto warfare, for thereof hath he charge.

Taissu. There is resident in the 4. house a fourth officer, bearing name Taissu. In this house is the principall prison of all the Citie. Ech one of these Magistrates aforesaide may both lay evill doers in prison, & deliver them out againe, except ye fact be heinous & of importance: in such a case they can do nothing, except they do meet al together. And if the deed deserveth [II. ii. 71.] death, all they together cannot determine thereof, without recourse made unto the Chian wheresoever hee be, or to the Tutan: and eftsoones it falleth out, that the case is referred unto higher power. In all Cities, not onely chiefe in ech shire, but in the rest also, are meanes found to make Louteas. Many of them do study at the prince his charges, wherefore at the yeeres ende they resort unto the head Cities, whither the Chians doe come, as it hath bene earst saide, as well to give these degrees, as to sit in judgement over the prisoners.

The Chians go in circuit every yere, but such as are to be chosen to the greatest offices meete not but from three yeeres to three yeeres, and that in certaine large halles appointed for them to be examined in. Many things are asked them, whereunto if they doe answere *Licentiates.* accordingly, and be found sufficient to take their degree, the Chian by and by granteth it them: but the Cap and girdle, whereby they are knowen to be Louteas, they weare not before that they be confirmed by the *Doctors.* king. Their examination done, and triall made of them, such as have taken their degree wont to be given them with all ceremonies, use to banquet and feast many dayes together (as the Chineans fashion is to ende all their pleasures with eating and drinking) and so remaine chosen to do the king service in matters of learning. The other examinates founde insufficient to proceed are sent backe to their studie againe. Whose ignorance is

perceived to come of negligence and default, such a one is whipped, and sometimes sent to prison, where lying that yeere when this kinde of acte was, we found many thus punished, and demaunding the cause thereof, they saide it was for that they knew not how to answere unto certaine things asked them. It is a world to see how these Louteas are served and feared, in such wise, that in publike assemblies at one shrike they give, all the servitors belonging unto justice tremble thereat. At their being in these places, when they list to moove, be it but even to the gate, these servitors doe take them up, and carry them in seates of beaten gold. After this sort are they borne when they goe in the City, either for their owne businesse abroade, or to see ech other at home. For the dignitie they have, and office they doe beare, they be all accompanied: the very meanest of them all that goeth in these seates is ushered by two men at the least, that cry unto the people to give place, howbeit they neede it not, for that reverence the common people have unto them. They have also in their company certaine Sergeants with their Maces either silvered or altogether silver, some two, some foure, other sixe, other eight, conveniently for ech one his degree. The more principal and chiefe Louteas have going orderly before these Sergeants, many other with staves, and a great many catchpoules with rods of Indish canes dragged on the ground, so that the streets being paved, you may heare afarre off as well the noyse of the rods, as the voyce of the criers. These fellowes serve also to apprehend others, and the better to be knowen they weare livery red girdles, and in their caps peacocks feathers. Behinde these Louteas come such as doe beare certaine tables hanged at staves endes, wherein is written in silver letters, the name, degree, and office of that Loutea, whom they follow. In like maner they have borne after them hattes agreeable unto their titles: if the Loutea be meane, then hath he brought after him but one hat, and that may not be yealowe: but if he

be of the better sort, then may he have two, three, or foure: the principall and chiefe Louteas may have all their hats yealow, the which among them is accompted great honour. The Loutea for warres, although he be but meane, may notwithstanding have yealow hats. The Tutans and Chians, when they goe abroad, have besides all this before them ledde three or foure horses with their guard in armour.

Furthermore the Louteas, yea and all the people of China, are wont to eate their meate sitting on stooles at high tables as we doe, and that very cleanely, although they use neither table-clothes nor napkins. Whatsoever is set downe upon the boord is first carved before that it be brought in: they feede with two sticks, refraining from touching their meate with their hands, even as we do with forkes: for the which respect they lesse do neede any table clothes. Ne is the nation only civill at meate, but also in conversation, and in courtesie they seeme to exceede all other. Likewise in their dealings after their maner they are so ready, that they farre passe all other Gentiles and Moores: the greater states are so vaine, that they line their clothes with the best silke that may be found. The Louteas are an idle generation, without all maner of exercises and pastimes, except it be eating and drinking. Sometimes they walke abroad in the fields to make the souldiers shoot at pricks with their bowes, but their eating passeth: they will stand eating even when the other do draw to shoot. The pricke is a great blanket spread on certaine long poles, he that striketh it, hath of the best man there standing a piece of crimson Taffata, the which is knit about his head: in this sort the winners be honoured, and the Louteas with their bellies full returne home againe. The inhabitants of China be very great Idolaters, all generally doe worship the heavens: and, as wee are wont to say, God knoweth it: so say they at every word, Tien Tautee, that is to say, The heavens doe know it. Some doe worship the Sonne, and some the

We, that is the Italians and Spaniards.

Moone, as they thinke good, for none are bound more to one then to another. In their temples, the which they do call Meani, they have a great altar in the same place as we have, true it is that one may goe round about it. There set they up the image of a certaine Loutea of that countrey, whom they have in great reverence for certaine notable things he did. At the right hand standeth the divel much more ugly painted then we doe use to set him out, whereunto great homage is done by such as come into the temple to aske counsell, or to draw lottes: this opinion they have of him, that he is malicious and able to do evil. If you aske them what they do thinke of the soules departed, they will answere that they be immortall, and that as soone as any one departeth out of this life, he becommeth a divel if hee have lived well in this world, if otherwise, that the same divel changeth him into a bufle, oxe, or dogge. Wherefore to this divel they doe much honour, to him doe they sacrifice, praying him that he will make them like unto himselfe, and not like other beastes. They have moreover another sort of temples, wherein both upon the altars and also on the walls do stand many idols well proportioned, but bare headed: these beare name Omithofon, accompted of them spirits, but such as in heaven do neither good nor evill, thought to be such men and women as have chastly lived in this world in abstinence from fish and flesh, fed onely with rise and salates. Of that divel they make some accompt: for these spirits they care litle or nothing at all. Againe they holde opinion that if a man do well in this life, the heavens will give him many temporall blessings, but if he doe evil, then shall he have infirmities, diseases, troubles, and penurie, and all this without any knowledge of God. Finally, this people knoweth no other thing then to live and die, yet because they be reasonable creatures, all seemed good unto them we speake in our language, though it were not very sufficient: our maner of praying especially pleased them, and truely

[II. ii. 72.]

After the Dutch fashion.

Pythagorean like.

they are well ynough disposed to receive the knowledge of the trueth. Our Lord grant for his mercy all things so to be disposed, that it may sometime be brought to passe, that so great a nation as this is perish not for want of helpe.

Our maner of praying so well liked them, that in prison importunately they besought us to write for them somewhat as concerning heaven, the which we did to their contentation w^t^ such reasons as we knew, howbeit not very cunningly. As they do their idolatry they laugh at themselves. If at any time this countrey might be joyned in league with the kingdome of Portugale, in such wise that free accesse were had to deale with the people there, they might all be soone converted. The greatest fault we do finde in them is Sodomie, a vice very common in the meaner sort, and nothing strange amongst the best. This sinne were it left of them, in all other things so well disposed they be, that a good interpreter in a short space might do there great good: If, as I said, the countrey were joyned in league with us.

Furthermore the Louteas, with all the people of China, are wont to solemnizè the dayes of the new and full Moones in visiting one an other, and making great banquets: for to that end, as I earst said, do tend all their pastimes, and spending their days in pleasure. They are wont also to solemnize ech one his birth day, whereunto their kindred and friends do resort of custome, with presents of jewels or money, receiving againe for their reward good cheare. They keepe in like maner a generall feast with great banquets that day their king was borne. But their most principall and greatest feast of all, and best cheare, is the first day of their new yeere, namely the first day of the new Moone of February, so that their first moneth is March, and they reckon the times accordingly, respect being had unto the reigne of their princes: as when any deed is written, they date it thus, Made such a day of such a moone, and such

a yeere of the reigne of such a king. And their ancient writings beare date of the yeeres of this or that king.

Now will I speake of the maner which the Chineans doe observe in doing of justice, that it may be knowen how farre these Gentiles do herein exceed many Christians, that be more bounden then they to deale justly and in trueth. Because the Chinish king maketh his abode continually in the City Pachin, his kingdome so great, & the shires so many, as tofore it hath bene said: in it therefore the governours and rulers, much like unto our Shiriffes, be appointed so suddenly and speedily discharged againe, that they have no time to grow naught. Furthermore to keepe the state in more securitie, the Louteas that governe one shire are chosen out of some other shire distant farre off, where they must leave their wives, children and goods, carying nothing with them but themselves. True it is, that at their comming thither they doe finde in a readinesse all things necessary, their house, furniture, servants, and all other things in such perfection and plentie, that they want nothing. Thus the king is well served without all feare of treason.

In the principall Cities of the shires be foure chiefe Louteas, before whom are brought all matters of the inferiour Townes, throughout the whole Realme. Divers other Louteas have the managing of justice, and receiving of rents, bound to yeelde an accompt thereof unto the greater officers. Other do see that there be no evil rule kept in the Citie: ech one as it behoveth him. Generally [II. ii. 73.] all these doe imprison malefactours, cause them to be whipped and racked, hoysing them up and downe by the armes with a cord, a thing very usuall there, and *The Italians call it the strapado.* accompted no shame. These Louteas do use great diligence in the apprehending of theeves, so that it is a wonder to see a theefe escape away in any City, towne or village. Upon the sea neere unto the shoare many are taken, and looke even as they are taken, so be they first whipped, and afterward layde in prison, where shortly after they all die for hunger and cold. At that time

when we were in prison, there died of them above threescore and ten. If happely any one, having the meanes to get food, do escape, he is set with the condemned persons, and provided for as they be by the King, in such wise as hereafter it shalbe said.

Their whips be certaine pieces of canes, cleft in the middle, in such sort that they seeme rather plaine then sharpe. He that is to be whipped lieth grovelong on the ground: upon his thighes the hangman layeth on blowes mightily with these canes, that the standers by tremble at their crueltie. Ten stripes draw a great deale of blood, 20. or 30. spoile the flesh altogether, 50. or 60. will require long time to bee healed, and if they come to the number of one hundred, then are they incurable.

The Louteas observe moreover this: when any man is brought before them to be examined, they aske him openly in the hearing of as many as be present, be the offence never so great. Thus did they also behave themselves with us: For this cause amongst them can there be no false witnesse, as dayly amongst us it falleth out. This good commeth thereof, that many being alwayes about the Judge to heare the evidence, and beare witnesse, the processe cannot be falsified, as it happeneth sometimes with us. The Moores, Gentiles, and Jewes have all their sundry othes, the Moores do sweare by their Mossafos, the Brachmans by their Fili, the rest likewise by the things they do worship. The Chineans though they be wont to sweare by heaven, by the Moone, by the Sunne, and by all their Idoles, in judgement neverthelesse they sweare not at all. If for some offence an othe be used of any one, by and by with the least evidence he is tormented, so be the witnesses he bringeth, if they tell not the trueth, or do in any point disagree, except they be men of worship and credit, who are beleeved without any further matter: the rest are made to confesse the trueth by force of torments and whips. Besides this order observed of them in examinations, they do feare

so much their King, and he where he maketh his abode keepeth them so lowe, that they dare not once stirre. Againe, these Louteas as great as they be, notwithstanding the multitude of Notaries they have, not trusting any others, do write all great processes and matters of importance themselves. Moreover one vertue they have worthy of great praise, and that is, being men so wel regarded and accompted as though they were princes, yet they be patient above measure in giving audience. We poore strangers brought before them might say what we would, as all to be lyes and fallaces that they did write, ne did we stand before them with the usuall ceremonies of that Countrey, yet did they beare with us so patiently, that they caused us to wonder, knowing specially how litle any advocate or Judge is wont in our Countrey to beare with us. For wheresoever in any Towne of Christendome should be accused unknowen men as we were, I know not what end the very innocents cause would have: but we in a heathen Countrey, having our great enemies two of the chiefest men in a whole Towne, wanting an interpreter, ignorant of that Countrey language, did in the end see our great adversaries cast into prison for our sake, and deprived of their Offices and honour for not doing justice, yea not to escape death: for, as the rumour goeth, they shalbe beheaded. Somewhat is now to be said of the lawes that I have bene able to know in this Countrey, and first, no theft or murther is at any time pardoned: adulterers are put in prison, and the fact once proved, are condemned to die, the womans husband must accuse them: this order is kept with men & women found in that fault, but theeves and murderers are imprisoned as I have said, where they shortly die for hunger and cold. If any one happely escape by bribing the Gailer to give him meate, his processe goeth further, and commeth to the Court where he is condemned to die. Sentence being given, the prisoner is brought in publique with a terrible band of men that lay him in Irons hand and foot, with a boord *A pillory boord.*

at his necke one handfull broad, in length reaching downe to his knees, cleft in two parts, and with a hole one handfull downeward in the table fit for his necke, the which they inclose up therein, nailing the boord fast together; one handfull of the boord standeth up behinde in the necke: The sentence and cause wherefore the fellon was condemned to die, is written in that part of the table that standeth before.

This ceremony ended, he is laid in a great prison in the company of some other condemned persons, the which are found by the king as long as they do live. The bord aforesaid so made tormenteth the prisoners very much, keeping them both from rest, & eke letting them to eat commodiously, their hands being manacled in irons under that boord, so that in fine there [II. ii. 74.] is no remedy but death. In the chiefe Cities of every shire, as we have erst said, there be foure principall houses, in ech of them a prison: but in one of them, where the Taissu maketh his abode, there is a greater and a more principal prison then in any of the rest: and although in every City there be many, neverthelesse in three of them remaine onely such as be condemned to die. Their death is much prolonged, for that ordinarily there is no execution done but once a yeere, though many die for hunger and cold, as we have seene in this prison. Execution is done in this maner. The Chian, to wit, the high Commissioner or Lord chiefe Justice, at the yeres end goeth to the head City, where he heareth againe the causes of such as be condemned. Many times he delivereth some of them, declaring ye boord to have bene wrongfully put about their necks: the visitation ended, he choseth out seven or eight, not many more or lesse of the greatest malefactors, the which, to feare and keepe in awe the people, are brought into a great market place, where all the great Louteas meete together, and after many ceremonies and superstitions, as the use of the Countrey is, are beheaded. This is done once a yeere: who so escapeth that day, may be sure that he shall not

be put to death all that yeere following, and so remaineth at the kings charges in the greater prison. In that prison where we lay were alwayes one hundred and mo of these condemned persons, besides them that lay in other prisons.

These prisons wherein the condemned caytifes do remaine are so strong, that it hath not bene heard, that any prisoner in all China hath escaped out of prison, for in deed it is a thing impossible. The prisons are thus builded. First all the place is mightily walled about, the walles be very strong and high, the gate of no lesse force: within it three other gates, before you come where the prisoners do lye, there many great lodgings are to be seene of the Louteas, Notaries, Parthions, that is, such as do there keepe watch and ward day and night, the court large and paved, on the one side whereof standeth a prison, with two mighty gates, wherein are kept such prisoners as have committed enormious offences. This prison is so great, that in it are streetes and Market places wherein all things necessary are sold. Yea some prisoners live by that kinde of trade, buying and selling, and letting out beds to hire: some are dayly sent to prison, some dayly delivered, wherefore this place is never void of 7. or eight hundred men that go at libertie.

Into one other prison of condemned persons shall you go at three yron gates, the court paved and vauted round about, and open above as it were a cloister. In this cloister be eight roomes with yron doores, and in ech of them a large gallerie, wherein every night the prisoners do lie at length, their feet in the stocks, their bodies hampered in huge wooden grates that keep them from sitting, so that they lye as it were in a cage, sleepe if they can: in the morning they are losed againe, that they may go into the court. Notwithstanding the strength of this prison, it is kept with a garrison of men, part whereof watch within the house, part of them in the court, some keepe about the prison with lanterns and watch-bels answering one another

five times every night, and giving warning so lowd, that the Loutea resting in a chamber not neere thereunto, may heare them. In these prisons of condemned persons remaine some 15, other 20. yeres imprisoned, not executed, for the love of their honorable friends that seeke to prolong their lives. Many of these prisoners be shoomakers, and have from the king a certaine allowance of rise: some of them worke for the keeper, who suffreth them to go at libertie without fetters and boords, the better to worke. Howbeit when the Loutea calleth his checke roll, & with the keeper vieweth them, they all weare their liveries, that is, boords at their necks, yronned hand and foot. When any of these prisoners dieth, he is to be seene of the Loutea and Notaries, brought out of a gate so narrow, that there can but one be drawen out there at once. The prisoner being brought forth, one of the aforesaid Parthions striketh him thrise on the head with an yron sledge, that done he is delivered unto his friends, if he have any, otherwise the king hireth men to cary him to his buriall in the fields.

Thus adulterers and theeves are used. Such as be imprisoned for debt once knowen, lie there until it be paied. The Taissu or Loutea calleth them many times before him by the vertue of his office, who understanding the cause wherefore they do not pay their debts, appointeth them a certaine time to do it, within the compasse whereof if they discharge not their debts being debters in deed, then they be whipped and condemned to perpetuall imprisonment: if the creditors be many, and one is to be paied before another, they do, contrary to our maner, pay him first of whom they last borrowed, and so ordinarily the rest, in such sort that the first lender be the last receiver. The same order is kept in paying legacies: the last named receiveth his portion first. They accompt it nothing to shew favour to such a one as can do the like againe: but to do good to them that have litle or nothing, that is worth thanks, therefore

Of like the first lenders be the more wealthie.

pay they the last before the first, for that their intent seemeth rather to be vertuous then gainefull.

When I said, that such as be committed to prison for theft and murther were judged by the Court, I ment not them that were apprehended in the deed doing, for they need no triall, but are brought immediatly before the [II. ii. 75.] Tutan, who out of hand giveth sentence. Other not taken so openly, which do need trial, are the malefactors put to execution once a yere in the chiefe cities, to keepe in awe the people: or condemned, do remaine in prison, looking for their day. Theeves being taken are caried to prison from one place to another in a chest upon mens shoulders, hired therfore by the king, the chest is 6. handfuls high, the prisoner sitteth therein upon a bench, the cover of the chest is two boords, amid them both a pillery-like hole, for the prisoners necke, there sitteth he with his head without the chest, and the rest of his body within, not able to moove or turne his head this way or that way, nor to plucke it in: the necessities of nature he voydeth at a hole in the bottome of the chest, the meate he eateth is put into his mouth by others. There abideth he day and night during his whole journey: if happily his porters stumble, or the chest do jogge or be set downe carelessly, it turneth to his great paines that sitteth therein, al such motions being unto him hanging as it were. Thus were our companions caried from Cinceo, 7. daies journey, never taking any rest as afterward they told us, & their greatest griefe was to stay by the way: as soone as they came, being taken out of the chests, they were not able to stand on their feet, and two of them died shortly after. When we lay in prison at Fuquieo, we came many times abroad, & *Fuquieo.* were brought to the pallaces of noble men, to be seene of them & their wives, for that they had never seene any Portugale before. Many things they asked us of our Country, and our fashions, & did write every thing, for they be curious in novelties above measure. The gentlemen shew great courtesie unto strangers, and so *Hereof tofore.*

did we finde at their hands, and because that many times we were brought abroad into the City, somewhat wil I say of such things as I did see therein, being a gallant City, and chiefe in one of the 13. shires aforesaid. The City Fuquieo is very great, & mightily walled with square stone both within and without, and, as it may seeme by the breadth therof, filled up in the middle with earth, layd over with brick & covered with tyle, after the maner of porches or galleries, that one might dwel therein. The staires they use are so easily made, that one may go them up and downe a hors-backe, as eftsoones they do: the streets are paved, as already it hath bin said: there be a great number of Marchants, every one hath written in a great table at his doore such things as he hath to sel. In like maner every artisane painteth out his craft: the market places be large, great abundance of al things there be to be sold. The city standeth upon water, many streames run through it, the banks pitched, & so broad that they serve for streets to the cities use. Over the streams are sundry bridges both of timber & stone, which being made level with the streets, hinder not the passage of the barges too and fro, the chanels are so deepe. Where the streames come in and go out of the city, be certaine arches in the wal, there go in and out their Parai, that is a kind of barges they have, & that in the day time only: at night these arches are closed up with gates, so do they shut up al the gates of the City. These streames and barges do ennoblish very much the City, and make it as it were to seeme another Venice. The buildings are even, wel made, high, not lofted, except it be some wherein marchandize is laid. It is a world to see how great these cities are, and the cause is, for that the houses are built even, as I have said, & do take a great deale of roome. One thing we saw in this city that made us al to wonder, and is worthy to be noted: namely, over a porch at the comming in to one of the aforesaid 4. houses, which the king hath in every shire for his governors, as I have

Parai.

erst said, standeth a tower built upon 40. pillers, ech one whereof is but one stone, ech one 40. handfuls or spans long: in bredth or compasse 12, as many of us did measure them. Besides this, their greatnesse is such in one piece, that it might seeme impossible to worke them: they be moreover cornered, and in colour, length and breadth so like, that the one nothing differeth from the other. This thing made us all to wonder very much.

We are wont to cal this country China, and the people Chineans, but as long as we were prisoners, not hearing amongst them at any time that name, I determined to learne how they were called: and asked sometimes by them thereof, for that they understood us not when we called them Chineans, I answered them, that al the inhabitants of India named them Chineans, wherefore I praied them that they would tel me, for what occasion they are so called, whether peradventure any city of theirs bare that name. Hereunto they alwayes answered me, y^t they have no such name, nor ever had. Then did I aske them what name the whole Country beareth, & what they would answere being asked of other nations what countrymen they were? It was told me that of ancient time in this country had bin many kings, & though presently it were al under one, ech kingdom nevertheles enjoyed that name it first had, these kingdomes are the provinces I spake of before. In conclusion they said, that the whole country is called Tamen, & the inhabitants Tamegines, so that this name China or Chineans, is not heard of in y^t country. I thinke that the neernesse of another province therabout called Cochinchina, & the inhabitants therof Cochinesses, first discovered before China was, lying not far from Malacca, did give occasion to ech of the nations, of that name Chineans, as also the whole country to be named China. But their proper name is that aforesaid.

Tamen the proper name of China.

I have heard moreover that in the City of Nanquim [II. ii. 76.] remaineth a table of gold, and in it written a kings name, as a memory of that residence the kings were wont to

keepe there. This table standeth in a great pallace, covered alwayes, except it be on some of their festivall dayes, at what time they are wont to let it be seene, covered neverthelesse as it is, all the nobilitie of the City going of duetie to doe it every day reverence. The like is done in the head Cities of all the other shires in the pallaces of the Ponchiassini, wherein these aforesaid tables doe stand with the kings name written in them, although no reverence be done thereunto but in solemne feastes.

Pochan, or, Pachin.

I have likewise understood that the City Pachin, where the king maketh his abode, is so great, that to go from one side to the other, besides the Suburbs, the which are greater then the City it selfe, it requireth one whole day a horseback, going hackney pase. In the suburbs be many wealthy marchants of all sorts. They told me furthermore that it was moted about, and in the motes great store of fish, whereof the king maketh great gaines.

Their enemies

It was also told me that the king of China had no king to wage battel withall, besides the Tartars, with whom he had concluded a peace more then 80. yeres ago. Neverthelesse their friendship was not so great, that the one nation might marry with the other. And demanding with whom they married, they said, that in olde time the Chinish kings when they would marry their daughters, accustomed to make a solemne feast, whereunto came all sorts of men. The daughter that was to be married, stood in a place where she might see them all, and looke whom she liked best, him did she chuse to husband, and if happely he were of a base condition, hee became by and by a gentleman: but this custome hath bene left long since. Now a dayes the king marrieth his daughters at his owne pleasure, with great men of the kingdome: the like order he observeth in the marriage of his sonnes.

Mariage of the kings children.

They have moreover one thing very good, and that which made us all to marveile at them being Gentiles: namely, that there be hospitals in all their Cities,

A.D. c. 1565.

alwayes full of people, we never saw any poore body begge. We therefore asked the cause of this: answered it was, that in every City there is a great circuit, wherein be many houses for poore people, for blinde, lame, old folke, not able to travaile for age, nor having any other meanes to live. These folke have in the aforesaid houses ever plentie of rice during their lives, but nothing else. Such as be received into these houses, come in after this maner. When one is sicke, blinde or lame, he maketh a supplication to the Ponchiassi, and proving that to be true he writeth, he remaineth in the aforesaid great lodging as long as he liveth: besides this they keepe in these places swine and hennes, whereby the poore be relieved without going a begging.

He speaketh not here of all China, but of the Cities, for in other places there be beggers, as you have seene already, swarming out of trees.

I said before that China was full of rivers, but now I minde to confirme the same anew: for the farther we went into the Countrey, the greater we found the rivers. Sometimes we were so farre off from the sea, that where we came no sea fish had bene seene, and salt was there very deare, of fresh water fish yet was there great abundance, and that fish very good: they keep it good after this maner. Where the rivers do meete, and so passe into the sea, there lieth great store of boats, specially where no salt-water commeth, and that in March and April. These boates are so many that it seemeth wonderfull, ne serve they for other then to take small fish. By the rivers sides they make leyres of fine and strong nettes, that lye three handfuls under water, and one above to keepe and nourish their fish in, untill such time as other fishers do come with boates, bringing for that purpose certaine great chests lined with paper, able to holde water, wherein they cary their fish up and downe the river, every day renuing the chest with fresh water, and selling their fish in every City, towne and village where they passe, unto the people as they neede it: most of them have net leyres to keepe fish in alwayes for their provision. Where the greater boates cannot passe any further forward, they take lesser, and because the whole

Countrey is very well watered, there is so great plenty of divers sorts of fish, that it is wonderfull to see: assuredly we were amazed to behold the maner of their provision.

Meanes to fat fish. Their fish is chiefly nourished with the dung of Bufles and oxen, that greatly fatteth it. Although I said their fishing to be in March and April at what time we saw them do it, neverthelesse they told us that they fished at all times, for that usually they do feed on fish, wherefore it behoveth them to make their provision continually.

He speaketh of Fuquien shire. When we had passed Fuquien, we went into Quicin shire, where the fine clay vessell is made, as I said before: and we came to a City, the one side whereof is built upon the foote of a hill, whereby passeth a river navigable: there we tooke boat, and went by water toward the Sea: on ech side of the river we found many Cities, Townes and villages, wherein we saw great store of marchandize, but specially of fine clay: there did we land by the way to buy victuals and other necessaries. Going downe this river Southward, we were glad that wee drew neere unto a warmer Countrey, from whence we had bene farre distant: this Countrey we passed through in eight dayes, for our journey lay downe the streame.

[II. ii. 77.] Before that I doe say any thing of that shire we came into, I will first speake of the great City of Quicin, wherein alwayes remaineth a Tutan, that is a governour, as you have seene, though some Tutans do governe two or three shires.

That Tutan that was condemned for our cause, of whom I spake before, was borne in this Countrey, but he governed Foquien shire: nothing it availed him to be so great an officer. This Countrey is so great, that in many places where we went, there had bene as yet no talke of his death, although he were executed a whole

Aliàs Cenchi. yere before. At the Citie Quanchi whither we came, the river was so great that it seemed a Sea, though it were so litle where we tooke water, that we needed small boats. One day about 9. of the clocke, beginning to row neere the walls with the streame, we came at noone to a bridge

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made of many barges, overlinked al together with two mightie cheines. There stayed we untill it was late, but we saw not one go either up thereon or downe, except two Louteas that about the going downe of the Sunne, came and set them downe there, the one on one side, the other on the other side. Then was the bridge opened in many places, and barges both great and small to the number of sixe hundred began to passe: those that went up the streame at one place, such as came downe at an other. When all had thus shot the bridge, then was it shut up againe. We heare say that every day they take this order in all principall places of marchandize, for paying of the Custome unto the king, specially for salt, whereof the greatest revenues are made that the king hath in this Countrey. The passages of the bridge where it is opened, be so neere the shoare, that nothing can passe without touching the same. To stay the barges at their pleasure, that they goe no further forward, are used certaine iron instruments. The bridge consisteth of 112. barges, there stayed we untill the evening that they were opened, lothsomely oppressed by the multitude of people that came to see us, so many in number, that we were enforced to go aside from the banke untill such time as the bridge was opened: howbeit we were nevertheless thronged about with many boates full of people. And though in other Cities and places where we went, the people came so importunate upon us, that it was needfull to withdraw our selves: yet were we here much more molested for the number of people: & this bridge is the principall way out of the Citie unto another place so wel inhabited, that were it walled about, it might be compared to the Citie. When we had shot the bridge, we kept along the Citie until it was night, and then met we with an other river that joyned with this, we rowed up that by the walls untill we came to another bridge gallantly made of barges, but lesser a great deale then that other bridge over the greater streame: here stayed we that night, and other two dayes with more

The Kings revenues.

quiet, being out of the preasse of the people. These rivers do meet without at one corner point of the City. In either of them were so many barges great and small, that we all thought them at the least to be above three thousand: the greater number thereof was in the lesser river, where we were. Amongst the rest here lay *Parai.* certaine greater vessels, called in their language Parai, that serve for the Tutan, when he taketh his voyage by other rivers that joyne with this, towards Pachin, where the king maketh his abode. For, as many times I have erst said, all this Countrey is full of rivers. Desirous to see those Parai we got into some of them, where we found some chambers set foorth with gilded beds very richly, other furnished with tables and seats, and all other things so neat and in perfection, that it was wonderfull.

Quiacim shire, as farre as I can perceive, lieth upon the South. On that side we kept at our first entry thereinto, travayling not farre from the high mountaines we saw there. Asking what people dwelleth beyond those mountaines, it was told me that they be theeves & men of a strange language. And because that unto sundry places neere this river the mountaines doe approch, whence the people issuing downe do many times great harme, this order is taken at the entry into Quiacim shire. To guard this river whereon continually go to & fro Parai great & small fraught with salt, *Fish poudered with peper.* fish poudred with peper, and other necessaries for that countrey, they do lay in divers places certaine Parai, and great barges armed, wherin watch and ward is kept day and night on both sides of the river, for the safety of the passage, & securitie of such Parai as do remaine there, though the travailers never go but many in company. In every rode there be at the least thirtie, in some two hundred men, as the passage requireth. This guard is kept usually untill you come to the City Onchio, where continually the Tutan of this shire, and eke of Cantan, maketh his abode. From that City upward,

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where the river waxeth more narrow, and the passage more dangerous, there be alwayes armed one hundred and fiftie Parai, to accompany other vessels fraught with marchandize, and all this at the Kings charges. This seemed to me one of the strangest things I did see in this Countrey.

When we lay at Fuquien, we did see certaine Moores, who knew so litle of their secte, that they could say nothing else but that Mahomet was a Moore, my father was a Moore, and I am a Moore, with some other wordes of their Alcoran, wherewithall, in abstinence from swines flesh, they live untill the divel take them all. This when I saw, & being sure that in many Chinish [II. ii. 78.] Cities the reliques of Mahomet are kept, as soone as we came to the City where these fellowes be, I enfourmed my selfe of them, and learned the trueth.

Great ships comming from the North.

These Moores, as they tolde me, in times past came in great ships fraught with marchandise from Pachin ward, to a port granted unto them by the king, as hee is wont to all them that traffique into this Countrey, where they being arrived at a litle Towne standing in the havens mouth, in time converted unto their sect the greatest Loutea there. When that Loutea with all his family was become Moorish, the rest began likewise to doe the same. In this part of China the people be at libertie, every one to worship and folow what him liketh best. Wherefore no body tooke heede thereto, untill such time as the Moores perceiving that many followed them in superstition, and that the Loutea favoured them, they began to forbid wholy the eating of swines flesh. But all these countreymen and women chosing rather to forsake father and mother, then to leave off eating of porke, by no meanes would yeeld to that proclamation. For besides the great desire they all have to eate that kinde of meate, many of them do live thereby: and therefore the people complained unto the Magistrates, accusing the Moores of a conspiracie pretended betwixt them and the Loutea against their king.

In this countrey, as no suspition, no not one traiterous word is long borne withall, so was the king speedily advertised thereof, who gave commandement out of hand that the aforesaid Loutea should be put to death, and with him the Moores of most importance: the other to be layde first in prison, and afterward to be sent abroad into certaine Cities, where they remained perpetuall slaves unto the king. To this City came by happe men and women threescore and odde, who at this day are brought to five men and foure women, for it is now twenty yeeres since this happened. Their offspring passeth the number of two hundreth, and they in this City, as the rest in other Cities whither they were sent, have their *Moscheas, whereunto they all resort every Friday to keepe their holy day. But, as I thinke, that will no longer endure, then whiles they doe live that came from thence, for their posteritie is so confused, that they have nothing of a Moore in them but abstinence from swines flesh, and yet many of them doe eate thereof privily. They tell mee that their native Countrey hath name Camarian, a firme land, wherein be many kings, and the Indish countrey well knowen unto them. It may so be: for as soone as they did see our servants (our servants were Preuzaretes) they judged them to be Indians: many of their wordes sounded upon the Persian tongue, but none of us coulde understand them. I asked them whether they converted any of the Chinish nation unto their secte: they answered mee, that with much a doe they converted the women with whom they doe marry, yeelding me no other cause thereof, but the difficultie they finde in them to be brought from eating swines flesh and drinking of wine. I am perswaded therefore, that if this Countrey were in league with us, forbidding them neither of both, it would be an easie matter to draw them to our Religion, from their superstition, whereat they themselves do laugh when they do their idolatry.

*That is their temples.

It should seeme by their voyage to be Cardandan in Ortelius.

☞ *A Northerne Sea.*

I have learned moreover that the Sea, whereby these

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Moores that came to China were wont to travaile, is a very great gulfe, that falleth into this Countrey out from Tartaria and Persia, leaving on the other side all the Countrey of China, and land of the Mogores, drawing alwayes toward the South: and of all likelyhood it is even so, because that these Moores, the which we have seene, be rather browne then white, whereby they shewe themselves to come from some warmer Countrey then China is neere to Pachin, where the rivers are frosen in the Winter for colde, and many of them so vehemently, that carts may passe over them.

It seemeth they came up the river from the Caspian Sea.

At Cacan.

Rivers over-frosen in China.

We did see in this Citie many Tartars, Mogores, Brames, and Laoynes, both men and women. The Tartars are men very white, good horsemen and archers, confining with China on that side where Pachin standeth, separated from thence by great mountaines that are betwixt these kingdomes. Over them be certaine wayes to passe, and for both sides, Castles continually kept with Souldiers: in time past the Tartars were wont alwayes to have warres with the Chineans, but these fourescore yeeres past they were quiet, untill the second yeere of our imprisonment. The Mogores be in like maner white, and heathen, we are advertised that of one side they border upon these Tartars, and confine with the Persian Tartars on the other side, whereof wee sawe in them some tokens, as their maner of clothes, and that kinde of hat the Saracens doe weare. The Moores affirmed, that where the king lyeth, there be many Tartars and Mogores, that brought into China certaine blewes of great value: all we thought it to be Vanil of Cambaia wont to be sold at Ormus. So that this is the true situation of that Countrey, not in the North-parts, as many times I have heard say, confining with Germanie.

Ali Avoins.

Tartars.

Mount Usont.

Mogores.

Blewes of great price in China.

As for the Brames we have seene in this city Chenchi certaine men & women, amongst whom there was one that came not long since, having as yet her haire tied up after the Pegues fashion: this woman,

Brames.

and other mo with whom a black Moore damsel in our company had conference, and did understand them wel ynough, had dwelt in Pegu. This new come woman, [II. ii. 79.] imagining that we ment to make our abode in that citie, bid us to be of good comfort, for that her countrey was not distant from thence above five dayes journey, and that out of her countrey there lay a high way for us home into our owne. Being asked the way, she answered that the first three daies the way lieth over certaine great mountaines & wildernesse, afterward people are met withall againe. Thence two dayes journey more to the Brames countrey. Where-

Southward from Chenchi to the sea.

fore I doe conclude, that Chenchi is one of the confines of this kingdome, separated by certaine huge mountaines, as it hath bene alreadie said, that lie out towards the South. In the residue of these mountaines standeth

Avoins.

the province of Sian, the Laoyns countrey, Camboia, Campaa, and Cochinchina.

Chenchi.

This citie chiefe of other sixteene is situated in a pleasant plaine abounding in all things necessarie, sea-fish onely excepted, for it standeth farre from the sea: of fresh fish so much store, that the market places are never emptie. The walles of this city are very strong and high: one day did I see the Louteas thereof go upon the walles to take the view thereof, borne in their seates which I spake of before, accompanied with a troupe of horsemen that went two and two: It was tolde me they might have gone three & three. We have seene moreover, that within this aforesayd Citie the king hath moe then a thousande of his kinne lodged in great pallaces, in divers partes of the Citie: their gates be redde, and the entrie into their houses, that they may be knowen, for that is the kings colour. These Gentlemen, according to their neerenesse in blood unto the king, as soone as they be married receive their place in honour: this place neither increaseth nor diminisheth in any respect as long as the king liveth, the king appointeth them their wives and familie, allowing them by the

moneth all things necessarie abundantly, as he doth to his governours of shires and Cities, howbeit, not one of these hath as long as he liveth any charge or governement at all. They give themselves to eating and drinking, and be for the most part burly men of bodie, insomuch that espying any one of them whom we had not seene before, we might knowe him to be the King his cosin. They be neverthelesse very pleasant, courteous, and faire conditioned: neither did we find, all the time wee were in that citie, so much honour and good intertainement any where as at their hands. They bid us to their houses to eate and drinke, and when they found us not, or we were not willing to go with them, they bid our servants and slaves, causing them to sit downe with the first. Notwithstanding the good lodging these Gentlemen have, so commodious that they want nothing, yet are they in this bondage, that during life they never goe abroad. The cause, as I did understand, wherefore the king so useth his cosins is, that none of them at any time may rebell against him: and thus he shutteth them up in three or foure other cities. Most of them can play on the Lute, and to make that kinde of pastime peculiar unto them onely, all other in the cities where they doe live be forbidden that instrument, the Curtisans and blinde folke onely excepted, who be musicians and can play.

This king furthermore, for the greater securitie of his Realme and the avoyding of tumults, letteth not one in all his countrey to be called Lord, except he be of his blood. Manie great estates and governours there be, that during their office are lodged Lordlike, and doe beare the port of mightie Princes: but they be so many times displaced and other placed a new, that they have not the time to become corrupt. True it is that during their office they be well provided for, as afterward also lodged at the kings charges, and in pension as long as they live, payed them monethly in the cities where they dwell by certaine officers appointed for that purpose. The

king then is a Lord onely, not one besides him as you have seene, except it be such as be of his blood. A Nephew likewise of the king, the kings sisters sonne, lyeth continually within the walles of the citie in a strong pallace built Castlewise, even as his other cousins do, remayning alwayes within doores, served by Eunuches, never dealing with any matters. On their festivall dayes, new moones, & full moones the magistrates make great bankets, and so do such as be of the king his blood. The kings Nephew hath to name Vanfuli, his pallace is walled about, the wall is not high, but foure-square, and in circuit nothing inferiour to the wals of Goa, the outside is painted red, in every square a gate, and over each gate a tower made of timber excellently well wrought: before the principall gate of the foure that openeth into the high streete no Loutea, be he never so great, may passe on horsebacke, or carried in his seat. Amidst this quadrangle standeth the pallace where that Nobleman lyeth, doubtlesse worth the sight, although we came not in to see it. By report the roofes of the towers and house are glased greene, & the greater part of the quadrangle set with savage trees, as Okes, Chestnuts, Cypresse, Pineapples, Cedars, and other such like that we do want, after the manner of a wood, wherein are kept Stags, Oxen, and other beasts, for that Lord his recreation never going abroad as I have sayd. One prehemineence this citie hath above the rest where we have bene, & that of right, as we do thinke, that besides the multitude of market places wherein all things are to be sold through every streete continually are cryed all things necessary, as flesh of all sortes, freshfish, hearbes, oyle, vineger, meale, rise: in summa, all things so plentifully, that many houses neede no servants, every thing being brought to their doores. Most part of the marchants remaine in the suburbes, for that the cities are shut up every night, as I have sayd. The marchants therefore, the better to attend their businesse, do chuse rather to make their abode without in the suburbes then within

Goa is a city of the Portugals in the East Indies.

[II. ii. 80.]

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the citie. I have seene in this river a pretie kinde of fishing, not to be omitted in my opinion, and therefore I will set it downe. The king hath in many rivers good store of barges full of sea-crowes that breede, are fedde and doe die therein, in certaine cages, allowed monethly a certaine provision of rise. These barges the king bestoweth upon his greatest magistrates, giving to some two, to some three of them as he thinketh good, to fish therewithall after this manner. At the houre appointed to fish, all the barges are brought together in a circle, where the river is shalow, and the crowes tyed together under the wings are let leape downe into the water, some under, some above, woorth the looking upon: each one as he hath filled his bagge, goeth to his own barge and emptieth it, which done, he returneth to fish againe. Thus having taken good store of fish, they set the crowes at libertie, and do suffer them to fish for their owne pleasure. There were in that citie where I was, twentie barges at the least of these aforesayd crowes. I went almost every day to see them, yet could I never be throughly satisfied to see so strange a kind of fishing.

Odericus writeth of the like.

Of the Iland Japan, and other litle Iles in the East Ocean. By R. Willes.

THe extreame part of the knowen world unto us is the noble Iland Giapan, written otherwise Japon and Japan. This Island standeth in the East Ocean, beyond all Asia, betwixt Cathayo and the West Indies sixe and thirtie degrees Northward from the Equinoctial line, in the same clime with the South part of Spaine and Portugall, distant from thence by sea sixe thousand leagues: the travaile thither, both for civill discord, great pyracie, and often shipwracks is very dangerous. This countrey is hillie and pestered with snow, wherefore it is neither so warme as Portugall, nor yet so wealthy, so far as we

can learne, wanting oyle, butter, cheese, milke, egges, sugar, honny, vineger, saffron, cynamom and pepper. Barley-branne the Ilanders doe use in stead of salt: medicinable things holsome for the bodie have they none at all. Neverthelesse in that Iland sundry fruites doe growe, not much unlike the fruites of Spaine: and great store of Silver mynes are therein to be seene. The people are tractable, civill, wittie, courteous, without deceit, in vertue and honest conversation exceeding all other nations lately discovered, but so much standing upon their reputation, that their chiefe Idole may be thought honour. The contempt thereof causeth among them much discord and debate, manslaughter and murther: even for their reputation they doe honour their parents, keepe their promises, absteine from adulterie and robberies, punishing by death the least robbery done, holding for a principle, that whosoever stealeth a trifle, will, if he see occasion, steale a greater thing. It may be theft is so severely punished of them, for that the nation is oppressed with scarcitie of all things necessary, and so poore, that even for miserie they strangle their owne children, preferring death before want. These fellowes doe neither eate nor kill any foule. They live chiefely by fish, hearbes, and fruites, so healthfully, that they die very old. Of Rice and Wheat there is no great store. No man is ashamed there of his povertie, neither be their gentlemen therefore lesse honoured of the meaner people, neither will the poorest gentleman there match his childe with the baser sort for any gaine, so much they do make more account of gentry then of wealth. The greatest delight they have is in armour, each boy at fourteene yeeres of age, be he borne gentle or otherwise, hath his sword and dagger: very good archers they be, contemning all other nations in comparison of their manhood and prowesse, putting not up one injurie be it never so small in worde or deede, among themselves. They feede moderately, but they drinke largely. The use of vines they knowe not, their

Great store of Silver mynes.

drinke they make of Rice, utterly they doe abhorre dice, and all games, accounting nothing more vile in a man, then to give himselfe unto those things that make us greedy and desirous to get other mens goods. If at any time they do sweare, fot that seldome they are wont to doe, they sweare by the Sunne: many of them are taught good letters, wherfore they may so much the sooner be brought unto Christianitie. Each one is contented with one wife: they be all desirous to learne, & naturally inclined unto honesty & courtesie: godly talke they listen unto willingly, especially when they understand it throughly. Their government consisteth of 3 estates. The first place is due unto the high Priest, by whose lawes & decrees all publike and private matters [II. ii. 81.] appertayning to religion are decided. The sects of their clergie men, whom they doe call Bonzi, be of no estimation or authoritie except the high Priest by letters patent doe confirme the same: he confirmeth and alloweth of their Tundi, who be as it were Bishops, although in many places they are nominated by sundry Princes. These Tundi are greatly honoured of all sorts: they doe give benefices unto inferiour ministers, and do grant licences for many things as to eate flesh upon those dayes they goe in pilgrimage to their Idoles with such like privileges. Finally, this high Priest wont to be chosen in China for his wisedome and learning, made in Japan for his gentry and birth, hath so large a Dominion and revenues so great, that eftsones he beardeth the petie Kings and Princes there.

Their second principal Magistrate, in their language Vo, is the chiefe Herehaught, made by succession and birth, honoured as a God. This gentleman never toucheth the ground with his foote without forfaiting of his office, he never goeth abroad out of his house, nor is at all times to be seene. At home he is either carried about in a litter, or els he goeth in woodden Choppines a foote high from the ground: commonly he sitteth in his chaire with a sword in one side, and a bow and arrowes in the

other, next his bodie he weareth blacke, his outward garments be red, all shadowed over with Cypresse, at his cappe hang certaine Lambeaux much like unto a Bishops Miter, his forehead is painted white and red, he eateth his meat in earthen dishes. This Herehaught determineth in all Japan the diverse titles of honour, whereof in that Iland is great plentie, each one particularly knowen by his badge, commonly seene in sealing up their letters, and dayly altered according to their degrees. About this Vo every Noble man hath his Soliciter, for the nation is so desirous of praise and honour, that they strive among themselves who may bribe him best. By these meanes the Herehaught groweth so rich, that although hee have neither land nor any revenues otherwise, yet may he be accounted the wealthiest man in all Japan. For three causes this great Magistrate may loose his office: first, if he touch the ground with his foote, as it hath beene alreadie said: next, if he kill any body: thirdly, if he be found an enemie unto peace and quietnesse, howbeit neither of these aforesaid causes is sufficient to put him to death.

Their third chiefe officer is a Judge, his office is to take up and to end matters in controversie, to determine of warres and peace, that which he thinketh right, to punish rebels, wherein he may commaund the noble men to assist him upon paine of forfeiting their goods: nevertheless at all times he is not obeyed, for that many matters are ended rather by might and armes, then determined by law. Other controversies are decided either in the Temporall Court, as it seemeth good unto the Princes, or in the Spirituall consistorie before the Tundi.

Rebelles are executed in this manner, especially if they be noble men or officers. The king looke what day he giveth sentence against any one, the same day the partie, wheresoever he be, is advertised thereof, and the day told him of his execution. The condemned person asketh of the messenger whether it may bee lawfull for

him to kill himselfe: the which thing when the king doeth graunt, the partie taking it for an honour, putteth on his best apparel and launcing his body a crosse from the breast downe all the belly, murthereth himselfe. This kind of death they take to be without infamie, neither doe their children for their fathers crime so punished, loose their goods. But if the king reserve them to be executed by the hangman, then flocketh he together his children, his servants, and friends home to his house, to preserve his life by force. The king committeth the fetching of him out unto his chiefe Judge, who first setteth upon him with bow and arrowes, and afterward with pikes and swords, untill the rebell and all his family be slaine to their perpetuall ignominie and shame.

The Indie-writers make mention of sundry great cities in this Iland, as Cangoxima a haven towne in the South part thereof, and Meaco distant from thence three hundred leagues northward, the royall seat of the king and most wealthy of all other townes in that Iland. The people thereabout are very noble, and their language the best Japonish. In Meaco are sayd to be ninetie thousande houses inhabited and upward, a famous Universitie, and in it five principall Colleges, besides closes & cloysters of Bonzi, Leguixil, and Hamacata, that is, Priests, Monks and Nunnes. Other five notable Universities there be in Japan, namely, Coia, Negru, Homi, Frenoi, and Bandu. The first foure have in them at the least three thousand & five hundred schollers: in the fift are many mo. For Bandu province is very great and possessed with sixe princes, five whereof are vassals unto the sixt, yet he himselfe subject unto the Japonish king, usually called the great king of Meaco: lesser scholes there be many in divers places of this Ilande. And thus much specially concerning this glorious Iland, among so many barbarous nations and rude regions, have I gathered together in one summe, out of sundry letters written from thence into Europe, by no lesse faithfull reporters

than famous travellers. For confirmation wherof, as also [II. ii. 82.] for the knowledge of other things not conteyned in the premisses, the curious readers may peruse these 4 volumes of Indian matters written long ago in Italian, and of late compendiously made latine, by Petrus Maffeius my olde acquainted friend, entituling the same, De rebus Japonicis. One whole letter out of the fift booke thereof, specially intreating of that countrey, I have done into English word for word in such wise as followeth.

Petrus Maffeius de rebus Japonicis.

Aloisius Froes to his companions in Jesus Christ that remaine in China and India.

THe last yeere, deare brethren, I wrote unto you from Firando, how Cosmus Turrianus had appointed me to travaile to Meaco to helpe Gaspar Vilela, for that there the harvest was great, the labourers few, and that I should have for my companion in that journey Aloisius Almeida. It seemeth now my part, having by the helpe of God ended so long a voiage, to signifie unto you by letter such things specially as I might thinke you would most delight to know. And because at the beginning Almeida and I so parted the whole labour of writing letters betwixt us, that he should speake of our voyage, and such things as happened therein, I should make relation of the Meachians estate, & write what I could well learne of the Japans maners and conditions: setting aside all discourses of our voyage, that which standeth me upon I will discharge in this Epistle, that you considering how artificially, how cunningly, under the pretext of religion, that craftie adversary of mankind leadeth and draweth unto perdition the Japanish mindes, blinded with many superstitions and ceremonies, may the more pitie this Nation.

The inhabiters of Japan, as men that never had greatly to doe with other Nations, in their Geography divided the whole world into three parts, Japan, Sian, and China. And albeit the Japans received out of Sian and China

their superstitions and ceremonies, yet do they nevertheless contemne all other nations in comparison of themselves, and standing in their owne conceite doe far preferre themselves before all other sorts of people in wisedome and policie.

Touching the situation of the countrey and nature of the soyle, unto the things eftsoones erst written, this one thing I wil adde: in these Ilands, the sommer to be most hot, the winter extreme cold. In the kingdome of Canga, as we call it, falleth so much snow, that the houses being buried in it, the inhabitants keepe within doores certaine moneths of the yeere, having no way to come foorth except they breake up the tiles. Whirlewindes most vehement, earthquakes so common, that the Japans dread such kind of feares litle or nothing at all. The countrey is ful of silver mines otherwise barren, not so much by fault of nature, as through the slouthfulnesse of the inhabitants: howbeit Oxen they keepe and that for tillage sake onely. The ayre is holesome, the waters good, the people very faire and well bodied: bare headed commonly they goe, procuring baldnesse with sorrow and teares, eftsoones rooting up with pinsars all the haire of their heads as it groweth, except it be a litle behind, the which they knot and keepe with all diligence. Even from their childhood they weare daggers and swords, the which they use to lay under their pillowes when they goe to bed: in shew courteous and affable, in deede haughtie and proud. They delight most in warlike affaires, and their greatest studie is armes. Mens apparel diversely coloured is worne downe halfe the legges and to the elbowes: womens attyre made hansomely like unto a vaile, is somewhat longer: all manner of dicing and theft they doe eschue. The marchant, although he be wealthy, is not accounted of. Gentlemen, be they never so poore, retaine their place: most precisely they stande upon their honour and woorthinesse, ceremoniously striving among themselves in courtesies and faire speeches. Wherein if any one happily be lesse carefull than he should be, even

for a trifle many times he getteth evill will. Want, though it trouble most of them, so much they doe detest, that poore men cruelly taking pittie of their infantes newly borne, especially girles, do many times with their owne feete strangle them. Noble men, and other likewise of meaner calling generally have but one wife a peece, by whom although they have issue, yet for a trifle they divorse themselves from their wives, and the wives also sometimes from their husbands, to marry with others. After the second degree cousins may there lawfully marry. Adoption of other mens children is much used among them. In great townes most men and women can write and reade.

This Nation feedeth sparingly, their usuall meat is rice and salets, and neere the sea side fish. They feast one another many times, wherein they use great diligence, especially in drinking one to another, insomuch that the better sort, least they might rudely commit some fault therein, doe use to reade certaine bookes written of duties and ceremonies apperteyning unto banquets. To be delicate and fine, they put their meate into their mouthes with litle forkes, accounting it great rudenesse to touch it with their fingers: winter & sommer they [II. ii. 83.] drinke water as hot as they may possibly abide it. Their houses are in danger of fire, but finely made and cleane, layde all over with strawe-pallets, whereupon they doe both sit in stead of stooles, and lie in their clothes with billets under their heads. For feare of defiling these pallets, they goe either barefoote within doores, or weare strawe pantofles on their buskins when they come abroad, the which they lay aside at their returne home againe. Gentlemen for the most part do passe the night in banketting, musicke, & vaine discourses, they sleepe the day time. In Meaco and Sacaio there is good store of beds, but they be very litle, and may be compared unto our pues.

In bringing up their children they use words only to rebuke them, admonishing as diligently and advisedly

boyes of sixe or seven yeeres of age, as though they were olde men. They are given very much to intertaine strangers, of whom most curiously they love to aske even in trifles what forraine nations doe, and their fashions. Such arguments and reasons as be manifest, and are made plaine with examples, doe greatly persuade them. They detest all kinde of theft, whosoever is taken in that fault may be slaine freely of any bodie. No publike prisons, no common gayles, no ordinary Justicers: privately each housholder hath the hearing of matters at home in his owne house, and the punishing of greater crimes that deserve death without delay. Thus usually the people is kept in awe and feare.

About foure hundred yeeres past (as in their olde recordes we finde) all Japan was subject unto one Emperour whose royall seat was Meaco, in the Japonish language called Cubucama. But the nobilitie rebelling against him, by litle and litle have taken away the greatest part of his dominion, howbeit his title continually remayneth, and the residue in some respect doe make great account of him still, acknowledging him for their superior. Thus the Empyre of Japan, in times past but one alone, is now divided into sixtie sixe kingdomes, the onely cause of civill warres continually in that Iland, to no small hinderance of the Gospell, whilest the kings that dwell neare together invade one another, each one coveting to make his kingdome greater. Furthermore in the citie Meaco is the pallace of the high Priest, whom that nation honoureth as a God, he hath in his house 366 Idoles, one whereof by course is every night set by his side for a watchman. He is thought of the common people so holy, that it may not be lawfull for him to goe upon the earth: if happily he doe set one foote to the ground, he looseth his office. He is not served very sumptuously he is maintained by almes. The heads and beards of his ministers are shaven, they have name Cangues, and their authoritie is great throughout all Japan. The Cubucama useth them for Embassadors to

But his almes are very good.

decide controversies betwixt princes and to end their warres, whereof they were wont to make very great gaine. It is now two yeres since or there about, that one of them came to Bungo, to intreate of peace betwixt the king thereof and the king of Amanguzzo. This Agent favouring the king of Bungo his cause more then the other, brought to passe that the foresayd king of Bungo should keepe two kingdomes, the which he had taken in warres from the king of Amanguzzo. Wherefore he had for his reward of the king of Bungo above 30000 ducats. And thus farre hereof.

I come now to other superstitions and ceremonies, that you may see, deare brethren, that which I said in the beginning, how subtilly the devill hath deceived the Japonish nation, and how diligent and readie they be to obey & worship him. And first, al remembrance and knowledge not onely of Christ our Redeemer, but also of that one God the maker of all things is cleane extinguished and utterly abolished out of the Japans hearts. Moreover their superstitious sects are many, whereas it is lawfull for each one to follow that which liketh him best: but the principall sects are two, namely the Amidans and Xacaians. Wherefore in this countrey shall you see many monasteries, not onely of Bonzii men, but also of Bonziæ women diversly attired, for some doe weare white under, and blacke upper garments, other goe apparelled in ash colour, and their Idole hath to name Denichi: from these the Amidanes differ very much. Againe the men Bonzii for the most part dwell in sumptuous houses, and have great revenues. These fellowes are chaste by commaundement, marry they may not upon paine of death. In the midst of their Temple is erected an altar, whereon standeth a woodden Idole of Amida, naked from the girdle upward, with holes in his eares after the manner of Italian gentlewomen, sitting on a woodden rose goodly to behold. They have great libraries, and halles for them all to dine and sup together, and bels wherwith they are at certaine houres called to

prayers. In the evening the Superintendent giveth each one a theame for meditation. After midnight before the altar in their Temple they do say Mattens as it were out of Xaca his last booke, one quier one verse, the other quier an other. Early in the morning each one giveth himselfe to meditation one houre: they shave their heads and beards. Their cloysters be very large, and within the precinct therof, Chappels of the Fotoquiens, for by that name some of the Japanish Saints are called: their holy-daies yeerely be very many. Most of these Bonzii be gentlemen, for that the Japanish nobility charged with [II. ii. 84.] many children, use to make most of them Bonzii, not being able to leave for each one a patrimony good enough. The Bonzii most covetously bent, know all the wayes how to come by money. They sell unto the people many scrolles of paper, by the helpe whereof the common people thinketh it selfe warranted from all power of the devils. They borrow likewise money to be repayed with great usury in an other worlde, giving by obligation unto the lender an assurance thereof, the which departing out of this life he may carry with him to hell.

There is another great company of such as are called *Inambuxu.* Inambuxu, with curled and staring haire. They make profession to finde out againe things either lost or stolen, after this sort. They set before them a child whom the devill invadeth, called up thither by charmes: of that child then doe they aske that which they are desirous to know.

These mens prayers both good and bad are thought greatly to prevaile, insomuch that both their blessings and their curses they sell unto the people. The novices of this order, before they be admitted, goe together two or three thousand in a company, up a certaine high mountaine to doe pennance there, threescore dayes voluntarily punishing themselves. In this time the devill sheweth himselfe unto them in sundry shapes: and they like young graduats, admitted as it were fellowes into some certaine companie, are set foorth with

white tassels hanging about their neckes, and blacke Bonnets that scarcely cover any more then the crowne of their heads. Thus attyred they range abroade in all Japan, to set out themselves and their cunning to sale, each one beating his bason which he carieth alwayes about with him, to give notice of their comming in al townes where they passe.

Genguis. There is also an other sort called Genguis, that make profession to shewe by soothsaying where stollen things are, and who were the theeves. These dwell in the toppe of an high mountaine, blacke in the face: for the continuall heate of the sunne, for the cold windes, and raines they doe continually endure. They marry but in their owne tribe and line: the report goeth that they be horned beasts. They climbe up most high rockes and hilles, and go over very great rivers by the onely arte of the devill, who to bring those wretches the more into errour, biddeth them to goe up a certaine high mountaine, where they stande miserably gazing and earnestly looking for him as long as the devill appointeth them. At the length at nonetide or in the evening commeth that devil, whom they call Amida among them to shew himselfe unto them: this shew breedeth in the braines and hearts of men such a kinde of superstition, that it can by no meanes be rooted out of them afterward.

The devill was wont also in another mountaine to shew himselfe unto the Japanish Nation. Who so was more desirous than other to go to heaven and to enjoy Paradise, thither went he to see that sight, and having seene the devill followed him (so by the devill perswaded) into a denne untill he came to a deepe pit. Into this pit the devill was wont to leape, and to take with him his worshipper whom he there murdred. This deceit was thus perceived. An old man blinded with this superstition, was by his sonne disswaded from thence, but all in vaine. Wherefore his sonne followed him privily into that denne with his bow & arrows, where the devill gallantly appeared unto him in the shape of a man. Whilest the old man

falleth downe to worshippe the devill, his sonne speedily shooting an arrow at the spirit so appearing, strooke a Foxe in stead of a man, so suddenly was that shape altered. This olde man his sonne tracking the Foxe so running away, came to that pit whereof I spake, and in the bottome thereof he found many bones of dead men, deceived by the devill after that sort in time past. Thus delivered he his father from present death, and all other from so pestilent an opinion.

There is furthermore a place bearing name Coia, very famous for ye multitude of Abbyes which the Bonzii have therein. The beginner and founder whereof is thought to be one Combendaxis a suttle craftie fellowe, that got the name of holinesse by cunning speech, although the lawes and ordinances he made were altogether devillish: he is said to have found out the Japanish letters used at this day. In his latter yeeres this Sim suttle buried himselfe in a fouresquare grave, foure cubites deepe, severely forbidding it to be opened, for that then he died not, but rested his bodie wearied with continuall businesse, untill many thousand thousands of yeeres were passed, after the which time a great learned man named Mirozu should come into Japan, and then would he rise up out of his grave againe. About his tombe many lampes are lighted, sent thither out of diverse provinces, for that the people are perswaded that whosoever is liberall and beneficiall towardes the beautifying of that monument shall not onely increase in wealth in this world, but in the life to come be safe through Combendaxis helpe. Such as give themselves to worship him, live in those Monasteries or Abbyes with shaven heads, as though they had forsaken all secular matters, whereas in deede they wallow in all sortes of wickednesse and lust. In these houses, the which are many (as I sayd) in number, doe remaine 6000 Bonzii, or thereabout besides [II. ii. 85.] the multitude of lay men, women be restrained from thence upon paine of death. Another company of Bonzii dwelleth at Fatonochaiti. They teach a great multitude

of children all tricks & sleights of guile & theft: whom they do find to be of great towardnes, those do they instruct in al the petigrues of princes, and fashions of the nobilitie, in chivalrie and eloquence, and so send them abroad into other provinces, attired like yong princes, to this ende, that faining themselves to be nobly borne, they may with great summes of money borowed under the colour and pretence of nobilitie returne againe. Wherefore this place is so infamous in all Japan, that if any scholer of that order be happily taken abroad, he incontinently dieth for it. Neverthelesse these cousiners leave not daily to use their woonted wickednesse and knaverie.

A warrelike people 300 leagues to the North of Meaco.

North from Japan, three hundred leagues out of Meaco, lieth a great countrey of savage men clothed in beasts skinnes, rough bodied, with huge beards and monstrous muchaches, the which they hold up with litle forkes as they drinke. These people are great drinkers of wine, fierce in warres, and much feared of the Japans: being hurt in fight, they wash their wounds with salt water, other Surgerie have they none. In their breasts they are sayd to cary looking glasses: their swordes they tie to their heads, in such wise, that the handle doe rest upon their shoulders. Service and ceremonies have they none at all, onely they are woont to worship heaven. To Aquita a great towne in that Japonish kingdom, which we call Gevano, they much resort for marchandise, and the Aquitanes likewise doe travell into their countrey, howbeit not often, for that there many of them are slaine by the inhabiters.

The Japanish funerals.

Much more concerning this matter I had to write: but to avoyd tediousnesse I will come to speake of the Japans madnesse againe, who most desirous of vaine glory doe thinke then specially to get immortall fame, when they procure themselves to be most sumptuously and solemnly buried: their burials and obsequies in the citie Meaco are done after this maner. About one houre before the dead body be brought foorth, a great multitude of his friends apparelled in their best aray goe before unto the

fire, with them goe their kinswomen and such as bee of their acquaintance, clothed in white (for that is the mourning colour there) with a changeable coloured vaile on their heads. Each woman hath with her also, according to her abilitie, all her familie trimmed up in white mockado: the better sort and wealthier women goe in litters of Cedar artificially wrought and richly dressed. In the second place marcheth a great company of footemen sumptuously apparelled. Then afarre off commeth one of these Bonzii master of the ceremonies for that superstition, bravely clad in silkes and gold, in a large and high litter excellently well wrought, accompanied with 30 other Bonzii or thereabout, wearing hats, linnen albes, and fine blacke upper garments. Then attired in ashe colour (for this colour also is mourning) with a long torch of Pineaple, he sheweth the dead body the way unto the fire, lest it either stumble or ignorantly go out of the way. Well neere 200 Bonzii folow him singing the name of that devill the which the partie deceassed chiefly did worship in his life time, and therewithall a very great bason is beaten even to the place of fire in stead of a bell. Then follow two great paper baskets hanged open at staves endes full of paper roses diversly coloured, such as beare them doe march but slowly, shaking ever now and then their staves, that the aforesayd flowers may fall downe by litle and litle as it were drops of raine: and be whirled about with wind. This shower say they is an argument that the soule of the dead man is gone to paradise. After al this, eight beardles Bonzii orderly two and two drag after them on the ground long speares, the points backward, with flags of one cubite a piece, wherein the name also of that idole is written. Then there be caried 10 lanterns trimmed with the former inscription, overcast with a fine vaile, and candles burning in them. Besides this, two yoong men clothed in ashe colour beare pineaple torches, not lighted, of three foote length, the which torches serve to kindle the fire wherein the dead corpes is to bee burnt. In the

They burne their dead.

same colour follow many other that weare on the crownes of their heads faire, litle, threesquare, blacke lethren caps tied fast under their chinnes (for that is honorable amongst them) with papers on their heads, wherein the name of the devill I spake of, is written. And to make it the more solemne, after commeth a man with a table one cubite long, one foot broad, covered with a very fine white vaile, in both sides whereof is written in golden letters the aforesayd name. At the length by foure men is brought foorth the corps sitting in a gorgeous litter clothed in white, hanging downe his head and holding his hands together like one that prayed: to the rest of his apparell may you adde an upper gowne of paper, written full of that booke the which his God is sayd to have made, when he lived in the world, by whose helpe and merites commonly they doe thinke to be saved. The dead man his children come next after him most gallantly set foorth, the yongest wherof carieth likewise a pineaple torch to kindle the fire. Last of all foloweth a great number of people in such caps as I erst spake of.

[II. ii. 86.] When they are al come to ye place appointed for the obsequie, al the Bonzii w^t^ the whole multitude for the space of one houre, beating pannes and basons with great clamours, call upon the name of that devill, the which being ended, the Obsequie is done in this maner. In the midst of a great quadrangle railed about, hanged with course linnen, and agreeably unto the foure partes of the world made with foure gates to goe in and out at, is digged a hole: in the hole is laied good store of wood, whereon is raised gallantly a waved roofe: before that stand two tables furnished with divers kindes of meates, especially drie Figs, Pomegranates and Tartes good store, but neither Fish nor Flesh: upon one of them standeth also a chafer with coales, and in it sweete wood to make perfumes. When all this is readie, the corde wherewith the litter was caried, is throwen by a long rope into the fire: as many as are present strive to take the rope in their handes, using their aforesayd clamours, which done,

they goe in procession as it were round about the quadrangle thrise. Then setting the litter on the wood built up ready for the fire that Bonzius who then is master of the ceremonies, saieth a verse that no bodie there understandeth, whirling thrise about over his head a torch lighted, to signifie thereby that the soule of the dead man had neither any beginning, ne shall have at any time an ende, and throweth away the torch. Two of the dead man his children, or of his neere kinne, take it up againe, and standing one at the East side of the litter, the other at the West, doe for honour and reverence reach it to each other thrise over the dead corps, and so cast it into the pile of wood: by and by they throw in oyle, sweete wood, and other perfumes, accordingly as they have plentie, and so with a great flame bring the corpes to ashes: his children in the meane while putting sweete wood into the chafer at the table with odours, doe solemnly and religiously worship their father as a Saint: which being done, the Bonzii are paied each one in his degree. The master of the ceremonies hath for his part five duckats, sometimes tenne, sometimes twentie, the rest have tenne Julies a piece, or els a certaine number of other presents called Caxæ. The meate that was ordained, as soone as the dead corps friends and all the Bonzii are gone, is left for such as served at the obsequie, for the poore and impotent lazars.

The next day returne to the place of obsequie the dead man his children, his kinred and friends, who gathering up his ashes, bones, and teeth, doe put them in a gilded pot, and so carie them home, to bee set up in the same pot covered with cloth, in the middest of their houses. Many Bonzii returne likewise to these private funerals, and so doe they againe the seventh day: then cary they out the ashes to bee buried in a place appointed, laying thereupon a fouresquare stone, wherein is written in great letters drawen all the length of the stone, the name of that devil the which the dead man worshipped in his life time. Every day afterward his

children resort unto the grave with roses and warme water that the dead corps thirst not. Nor the seventh day onely, but the seventh moneth and yeere, within their owne houses they renue this obsequie, to no small commodities and gaine of the Bonzii: great rich men doe spend in these their funerals 3000 duckats or thereabout, the meaner sort two or three hundred. Such as for povertie be not able to go to that charges, are in the night time darkelong without all pompe and ceremonies buried in a dunghill.

They have another kinde of buriall, especially neere the Sea side, for them that bee not yet dead. These fellowes are such, as having religiously with much devotion worshipped Amida, now desirous to see him, doe slay themselves. And first they goe certaine dayes begging almes, the which they thrust into their sleeves, then preach they in publique a sermon unto the people, declaring what they mind to doe, with the great good liking of all such as doe heare them: for every body wondreth at such a kinde of holinesse. Then take they hookes to cut downe briars and thornes that might hinder them in their way to heaven, and so embarke themselves in a new vessell, tying great stones about their neckes, armes, loines, thighes, and feete: thus they launching out into the maine Sea be either drowned there, their shippe bouged for that purpose, or els doe cast themselves over-boord headlong into the Sea. The emptie barke is out of hand set a fire for honours sake by their friends that folow them in another boat of their owne, thinking it blasphemie that any mortall creature should afterward once touch the barke that had bene so religiously halowed.

Truly when we went to Meaco, eight dayes before we came to the Ile of Hiu at Fore towne, sixe men and two women so died. To all such as die so the people erecteth a Chappell, and to each of them a pillar and a pole made of Pineaple for a perpetuall monument, hanging up many shreds of paper in stickes all the roofe

over, with many verses set downe in the walles in commendation of that blessed company. Wherefore unto this place both day and night many come very superstitiously in pilgrimage. It happened even then as Aloisius Almeida and I went to christen a childe wee traveiled that way at what time foure or five olde women came foorth out of the aforesayd chappell with beades in their handes (for in this point also the devill counterfaiteth Christianitie) who partly scorned at us for [II. ii. 87.] follie, partly frowned and taunted at our small devotion, for passing by that holy monument without any reverence or worship done thereunto at all.

It remaineth now we speake two or three wordes of those Sermons the Bonzii are woont to make, not so many as ours in number, but assuredly very well provided for. The Pulpit is erected in a great temple with a silke Canopie over it, therein standeth a costly seate, before the seate a table with a bell and a booke. At the houre of Sermon each sect of the Japans resorteth to their owne doctors in divers Temples. Up goeth the doctor into the Pulpit, and being set downe, after that hee hath lordlike looked him about, signifieth silence with his bell, and so readeth a fewe wordes of that booke we spake of, the which he expoundeth afterward more at large. These preachers be for the most part eloquent, and apt to drawe with their speach the mindes of their hearers. Wherefore to this ende chieflie (such is their greedinesse) tendeth all their talke, that the people bee brought under the colour of godlinesse to enrich their monasteries, promising to each one so much the more happinesse in the life to come, how much the greater costes and charges they bee at in Church matters and obsequies: notwithstanding this multitude of superstitious Sects and companies, and the diversities thereof amongst themselves: yet in this principally all their Superintendents doe travell so to perswade their Novices in their owne tales and lies, that they thinke nothing els trueth, nothing els sure to

come by everlasting salvation, nothing els woorth the hearing. Whereunto they adde other subtleties, as in going gravitie, in countenance, apparell, and in all outward shew, comelinesse. Whereby the Japans mindes are so nousled in wicked opinions, & doe conceive thereby such trust and hope of everlasting salvation, that not onely at home, but also abroad in every corner of the towne continually almost they run over their beades, humbly asking of Amida and Xaca, wealth, honour, good health, and everlasting joyes. Thus then, deare brethren, may you thinke how greatly they need the helpe of God, that either doe bring the Gospell into this countrey, or receiving it brought unto them, doe forsake idolatrie and joine themselves with Christ, being assaulted by so many snares of the devill, troubled with the daily dissuasions of their Bonzii, and finally, so injuriously, so hardly, so sharpely vexed of their kinred and friends, that except the grace of God obtained by the sacrifices and prayers of the Catholique church doe helpe us, it cannot be chosen but that the faith and constancie of many, if not of all, in these first beginnings of our churches, will greatly be put in jeopardie. So much the more it standeth you upon that so earnestly long for the health of soules, to commend specially these Japanish flocks unto our Lord.

We came to Sacaio the eight and twentie day of January: Aloisius Almeida first for businesse, but afterward let by sicknesse, staied there some while, but I parting the next day from thence came thirteene leagues off to Meaco the last of Januarie. Of my comming all the Christians tooke great comfort, but specially Gaspar Vilela who in 6 yeres had seen none of our companie at Meaco: his yeeres are not yet fortie, but his gray haires shew him to be seventie, so vehemently is his litle body afflicted and worne with extreme cold. Hee speaketh Japanish so skilfully after the phrase of Meaco (the which for the renowne of this people and royal seat of the king is best accounted of) that hee doeth

both confesse and preach in that language. Certaine godly bookes also he hath done into that speach, not omitting to translate other as laisure suffreth him. To make an ende, our Lord for his goodnesse vouchsafe to preserve us all continually, and to give us ayde both rightly to interprete his will, and well to doe the same. From Meaco the 19 of February 1565.

Other such like matter is handled both in other his letters, and also in the Epistles written by his companions to be seene at large in the aforesaid volume. Amongst the rest this seemed in my judgement one of the principall, and therefore the rather I tooke upon me to do it into English.

Of the Iles beyond Japan in the way from China to the Moluccas.

AMongst other Iles in the Asian sea betwixt Cantan a Chinish haven in Cathaio & the Moluccas, much spoken of in the Indian histories and painted out in Maps, Ainan and Santianum are very famous. Ainan standeth 19 degrees on this side of the Equinoctiall line nere China, from whence the Chinish nation have their provision for shipping and other necessaries requisite for their Navie. There staied Balthasar Gagus a great traveiler 5 moneths, who describeth that place after this maner. Ainan is a goodly countrey ful of Indian fruits & all kind of victuals, besides great store of jewels and pearle, well inhabited, the townes built of stone, the people rude in conditions, apparelled in divers coloured rugs, with two oxe hornes, as it were, made of fine cypres hanging downe about their eares, and a paire of sharpe cyzers at their foreheads. *Ainan.* *De reb. Jap. li.* 4.

The cause wherefore they go in such attire I could not understand, except it bee for that they do counterfeit the devil in the forme of a brute beast, offring themselves up to him. [II. ii. 88.]

Santianum is an Ile neere unto the haven Cantan in the confines likewise of China, famous for the death *Santianum.*

of that woorthy traveiler and godly professour and painfull doctor of the Indian nation in matters concerning religion, Francis Xavier, who after great labours, many injuries, and calamities infinite suffred with much patience, singular joy and gladnesse of mind, departed in a cabben made of bowes and rushes upon a desert mountaine, no lesse voyd of all worldly commodities, then endued with all spirituall blessings, out of this life, the 2 day of December, the yeere of our Lord 1552. after that many thousand of these Easterlings were brought by him to the knowledge of Christ. Of this holy man, his particular vertues, and specially travell, and wonderfull works in that region, of other many litle Iles (yet not so litle, but they may right wel be written of at laisure) all the latter histories of the Indian regions are full.

An excellent treatise of the kingdome of China, and of the estate and government thereof: Printed in Latine at Macao a citie of the Portugals in China, An. Dom. 1590. and written Dialogue-wise. The speakers are Linus, Leo, and Michael.

LINUS.

CONcerning the kingdome of China (Michael) which is our next neighbour, we have heard and daily do heare so many reports, that we are to request at your hands rather a true then a large discourse and narration thereof. And if there be ought in your knowledge besides that which by continual rumours is waxen stale among us, we will right gladly give diligent eare unto it.

MICHAEL. Because the report of this most famous kingdome is growen so common among us, reducing divers and manifold particulars into order, I will especially aime at the trueth of things received from the fathers

of the societie, which even now at this present are conversant in China. First of all therefore it is not unknowen, that of all parts of the maine continent this kingdom of China is situate most Easterly: albeit certaine Ilands, as our native Japon, & the Ile of Manilia stand more Easterly then China it selfe. As touching the limites & bounds of this kingdom, we may appoint the first towards ye West to be a certaine Ile commonly called Hainan, which standeth in 19 degrees of Northerly latitude. For the continent next adjoining unto this Ile trendeth towardes the East, and that especially, where the promontorie of the citie called Nimpo or Liampo doeth extend it selfe. Howbeit, from that place declining Northward, it stretcheth foorth an huge length, insomuch that the farthest Chinian inhabitants that way doe behold the North pole elevated, at least 50 degrees, and perhaps more also: whereupon a man may easilie conjecture (that I may speake like an Astronomer) how large the latitude of this kingdom is, when as it containeth about more then 540 leagues in direct extension towards the North. But as concerning the longitude which is accounted from East to West, it is not so exactly found out, that it may be distinguished into degrees. Howbeit certaine it is, that according to the Map wherein the people of China describe the forme of their kingdom, the latitude thereof doeth not much exceed ye longitude. This kingdom therfore is, without all peradventure, of all earthly kingdoms the most large and spacious: for albeit divers other kings under their jurisdiction containing in dimensions more length & breadth then all China, do possesse very many kingdoms & far distant asunder: yet none of them all enjoieth any one kingdom so large and so ample, as the most puissant king of China doeth. Now, if we shall make enquirie into his revenues and tributes, true it is, that this king of all others, is endued with the greatest and the richest, both in regard of the fertilitie & greatnes of his dominions, & also by reason of the severe collection and exaction

The situation and limites of China.

Chinian Cosmographers.

The rich revenues of the king of China.

of his duties: yea, tributes are imposed upon his subjects, not onely for lands, houses, and impost of marchandise, but also for every person in each family. It is likewise to be understood, that almost no lord or potentate in China hath authoritie to levie unto himselfe any peculiar revenues, or to collect any rents within the precincts of his seigniories, al such power belonging onely unto the king: whereas in Europe the contrary is most commonly seen, as we have before signified. In this most large kingdom are conteined 15 provinces, every one of which were in it selfe sufficient to be made one great kingdom. Six of these provinces do border upon the sea, namely (y^t^ I may use the names of the Chinians themselves) Coantum, Foquien, Chequiam, Nanquin, Xantum, Paquin: the other 9 be in-land provinces, namely, Quiansi, Huquam, Honan, Xiensi, Xansi, Suchuon, Queicheu, Junan, Coansi. Amongst all the foresayd provinces, two are allotted for the kings court and seat roial, that is to say, Paquin for his court in the North, and Nanquin for his court in the South. For the kings of China were woont to be resident altogether at the South court: but afterward, by reason of the manifold and cruell warres mooved by the Tartars, they were constrained to defixe their princely seate and habitation in that extreme province of the North. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that those Northren confines of the kingdom doe abound with many moe fortresses, martiall engines, and garrisons of souldiers.

Fifteene great provinces in China.

The seats roiall of the king of China. [II. ii. 89.]

The warlike munitions of China, & a marveilous wall.

LEO. I have heard, amongst those munitions, a certaine strange and admirable wall reported of, wherewith the people of China doe represse and drive backe the Tartars attempting to invade their territories.

MICHAEL. Certes that wall which you have heard tell of is most woorthie of admiration; for it runneth alongst the borders of three Northerlie provinces, Xiensi, Xansi, and Paquin, and is sayd to containe almost three hundred leagues in length, and in such sort to bee built, that it hindereth not the courses and streames of any rivers,

their chanels being overthwarted and fortified with wonderfull bridges and other defences. Yet is it not unlikely, that the sayd wall is built in such sort, that onely lowe and easie passages bee therewith stopped and environed; but the mountaines running betweene those lowe passages are, by their owne naturall strength, and inaccessible heigth, a sufficient fortification agaynst the enemie.

LINUS. Tell us (Michael) whether the kingdome of China be so frequented with inhabitants, as wee have often bene informed, or no?

Abundance of inhabitants in China.

MICHAEL. It is (Linus) in very deed a most populous kingdom, as I have bene certified from the fathers of the societie: who having seene sundry provinces of Europe renoumed for the multitude of their inhabitants, doe notwithstanding greatly admire the infinite swarmes of people in China. Howbeit these multitudes are not pel-mel and confusively dispersed over the land, but most conveniently and orderly distributed in their townes and famous cities: of which assemblies there are divers kindes among the Chinians. For they have certaine principal cities called by the name of Fu: other inferior cities called Cheu: and of a third kind also named Hien, which be indeed walled townes, but are not privileged with the dignities and prerogatives of cities. To these may be added two other kindes of lesser townes, which are partly villages, and partly garrisons of souldiers. Of the first and principall kind is that most noble citie standing neere unto the port of Macao, called by the Chinians Coanchefu, but by the Portugals commonly termed Cantam, which is rather the common name of the province, then a word of their proper imposition. Unto the third kind appertaineth a towne, which is yet nigher unto the port of Macao, called by the Portugals Ansam, but by the Chinians Hiansanhien. Al the foresayd provinces therefore have their greater cities named Fu, & their lesser cities called Cheu, unto both of which the other townes may be added. Moreover, in every pro-

Cities and townes.

vince there is a certain principal city which is called the Metropolitane thereof, wherein the chief magistrates have their place of residence, as the principal citie by me last mentioned, which is the head of the whole province called Coantum. The number of the greater cities throughout the whole kingdom is more then 150, and there is the same or rather a greater multitude of inferiour cities. Of walled townes not endued with the privileges of cities there are mo then 1120: the villages & garrisons can scarce be numbred: over & besides the which convents it is incredible what a number of countrie farmes or granges there be: for it is not easie to find any place desert or void of inhabitants in all that land. Now in the sea, in rivers, & in barks there are such abundance of people, and of whole families inhabiting, that even the Europæans themselves doe greatly wonder thereat: insomuch that some (albeit beyond measure) have bene perswaded that there are as many people dwelling upon the water as upon the land. Neither were they induced so to thinke altogether without probabilitie: for whereas the kingdom of China is in all parts thereof interfused with commodious rivers, & in many places consisteth of waters, barges & boats being every-where very common, it might easily bee supposed, that the number of watermen was equal unto the land-inhabitants. Howbeit, that is to be understood by amplification, whereas the cities do swarme so ful with citizens & the countrie with peasants.

The Chinian rivers greatly inhabited.

Leo. The abundance of people which you tell us of seemeth very strange: whereupon I conjecture the soile to be fertile, the aire to be holesome, and the whole kingdom to be at peace.

Holesome aire, plenty & peace in China.

Michael. You have (friend Leo) ful judicially conjectured those three: for they do all so excel, y^t^ which of the three in this kingdom be more excellent, it is not easie to discerne. And hence it is that this common opinion hath bene rife among the Portugals, namely, that the kingdom of China was never visited with those three

most heavy & sharpe scourges of mankind, warre, famine, & pestilence. But that opinion is more common then true: sithens there have bene most terrible intestine and civile warres, as in many and most autenticall histories it is recorded: sithens also that some provinces of the sayd kingdom, even in these our dayes, have bene afflicted with pestilence and contagious diseases, and with famine. Howbeit, that the foresaid three benefits do mightily flourish and abound in China, it cannot be denied. For (that I may first speake of the salubritie of the aire) the fathers of the societie themselves are witnesses, that scarcely in any other realme there are so many found that live unto decrepite and extreme old age: so great a multitude is there of ancient and grave personages: neither doe they use so many confections and medicines, nor so manifold and sundry wayes of curing diseases, as wee saw accustomed in Europe. For amongst them they have no Phlebotomie or letting of blood: but all their cures, as ours also in Japon, are atchieved by fasting, decoctions of herbes, & light or gentle potions. But in this behalfe let every nation please themselves with their owne customes. Now, in fruitfulnes of soile this kingdom certes doth excel, far surpassing all other kingdoms of the East: yet is it nothing comparable unto the plentie and abundance of Europe, as I have declared at large in the former treatises. But the kingdom of China is, in this regard, so highly extolled, because there is not any region in the East partes that aboundeth so with marchandise, and from whence so much traffique is sent abroad. For whereas this kingdome is most large & full of navigable rivers, so that commodities may easilie be conveyed out of one province into another: the Portugals doe find such abundance of wares within one and the same Citie, (which perhaps is the greatest Mart throughout the whole kingdome) that they are verily perswaded, that the same region, of all others, most aboundeth with marchandise: which notwithstanding is to be understood of the Orientall regions: albeit there

Chinian stories.

[II. ii. 90.]

The city of Coanchefu, aliàs Cantam.

are some kindes of marchandise, wherewith the land of China is better stored then any other kingdom. This region affordeth especially sundry kinds of mettals, of which the chiefe, both in excellencie & in abundance, is gold, whereof so many Pezoes are brought from China to India, and to our countrey of Japon, that I heard say, that in one and the same ship, this present yeere, 2000 such pieces consisting of massie gold, as the Portugals commonly call golden loaves, were brought unto us for marchandise: and one of these loaves is worth almost 100 duckats. Hence it is that in the kingdom of China so many things are adorned with gold, as for example, beds, tables, pictures, images, litters wherein nice and daintie dames are caried upon their servaunts backes. Neither are these golden loaves onely bought by the Portugals, but also great plentie of gold-twine and leaves of gold: for the Chinians can very cunningly beate and extenuate gold into plates and leaves. There is also great store of silver, whereof (that I may omit other arguments) it is no small demonstration, that every yeere there are brought into the citie commonly called Cantam by the Portugal marchants to buie wares, at the least 400 Sestertium thereof, and yet nothing in a maner is conveied out of the Chinian kingdom: because the people of China abounding with all necessaries, are not greatly inquisitive or desirous of any marchandise from other kingdomes. I doe here omit the Silver mines whereof there are great numbers in China, albeit there is much circumspection used in digging the silver thereout: for the king standeth much in feare least it may bee an occasion to stirre up the covetous and greedie humour of many. Nowe their silver which they put to uses is for the most part passing fine, and purified from all drosse, and therefore in trying it they use great diligence. What should I speake of their iron, copper, lead, tinne, and other mettals, and also of their quick-silver? Of all which in the realme of China there is great abundance, and from thence they are transported into divers countreys. Hereunto may bee

Great abundance of gold in China.

Great store of silver.

added the wonderfull store of pearles, which, at the Ile of Hainan, are found in shell-fishes taken very cunningly by certaine Divers, and doe much enlarge the kings revenues. But now let us proceed unto the Silke or Bombycine fleece, whereof there is great plentie in China: so that even as the husbandmen labour in manuring the earth, and in sowing of Rice; so likewise the women doe employ a great part of their time in preserving of silke-wormes, and in keeming and weaving of Silke. Hence it is that every yeere the King and Queene with great solemnitie come foorth into a publique place, the one of them touching a plough, and the other a Mulberie tree, with the leaves whereof Silke-wormes are nourished: and both of them by this ceremonie encouraging both men and women unto their vocation and labour: whereas otherwise, all the whole yeere throughout, no man besides the principall magistrates, may once attaine to the sight of the king. Of this Silke or Bombycine fleece there is such abundance, that three shippes for the most part comming out of India to the port of Macao, & at the least one every yeere comming unto us, are laden especially with this fraight, and it is used not onely in India, but caried even unto Portugal. Neither is the Fleet it selfe onely transported thence, but also divers & sundry stuffes woven thereof, for the Chinians do greatly excel in the Art of weaving, and do very much resemble our weavers of Europe. Moreover the kingdom of China aboundeth with most costlie spices & odours, and especially with cynamom (albeit not comparable to the cynamom of Zeilan) with camphire also & muske, which is very principal & good. Muske deriveth his name from a beast of the same name (which beast resembleth a Bever) from the parts whereof brused & putrified proceedeth a most delicate & fragrant smel which the Portugals highly esteem, commonly calling those parts of the foresaid beasts (because they are like unto the gorges of foules) Papos, & convey great plenty of them into India, & to us of Japon. But who would beleeve,

Pearles.

Great store of silke in China.

Silke brought into Japon.

Spices, Camphire, & muske.

[II. ii. 91.]

Cotton wooll, whereof Calicut-cloth is made.

that there were so much gossipine or cotton-wool in China; whereof such variety of clothes are made like unto linnen; which we our selves do so often use, & which also is conveied by sea into so many regions? Let us now intreat of that earthen or pliable matter commonly called porcellan, which is pure white, & is to be esteemed the best stuffe of that kind in the whole world: wherof vessels of all kinds are very curiously framed. I say, it is the best earthen matter in all the world, for three qualities; namely, the cleannesse, the beauty, & the strength thereof. There is indeed other matter to be found more glorious, and more costly, but none so free from uncleannes, and so durable: this I adde, in regard of glasse, which indeed is immaculate and cleane, but may easily be broken in pieces. This matter is digged, not thorowout the whole region of China, but onely in one of the fifteene provinces called Quiansi, wherein continually very many artificers are imployed about the same matter: neither doe they onely frame thereof smaller vessels, as dishes, platters, salt-sellers, ewers, and such like, but also certaine huge tunnes, and vessels of great quantity, being very finely and cunningly wrought, which, by reason of the danger and difficulty of carriage, are not transported out of the realme, but are used onely within it, and especially in the kings court. The beauty of this matter is much augmented by variety of picture, which is layed in certaine colours upon it, while it is yet new, golde also being added thereunto, which maketh the foresayd vessels to appeare most beautifull. It is wonderfull how highly the Portugals do esteeme thereof, seeing they do, with great difficulty, transport the same, not onely to us of Japon and into India, but also into sundry provinces of Europe. Unto the marchandize above-mentioned may be added divers and sundry plants, the rootes whereof be right holesome for mens bodies, and very medicinable, which are brought unto our Iles of Japon, and unto many other Ilands, amongst the which that wood may be

Three qualities of porcellan.

Plants.

reckoned, which (by a synechdoche) is called The wood of China, being of notable force to expell out of mens bodies those humours, which would breed contagious diseases. To these you may adde sugar-canes (for in the realme of China there is great store of excellent sugar) *Sugar.* which is conveyed by the Portugals very plentifully, both into our countrey, and also into India. My speeches uttered immediatly before concerned marchandize onely, in regard whereof this kingdome is beneficiall not to itselfe alone, but most profitable to many other nations also. As for those fruits which pertaine to yerely sustenance and common food, they can scarse be numbred; albeit, of those three commodities which they of Europe so greatly account of; namely of cornes, vines, and olives *China in a maner destitute of corne, wine, & oile.* the land of China is not very capable: for the Chinians know not so much as the name of an Olive tree (out of the fruit whereof oile is expressed) neither yet the name of a vine. The province of Paquin is not altogether destitute of wine, but whether it be brought from other places, or there made, I am not able to say: although it aboundeth with many other, and those not unpleasant liquours, which may serve in the stead of wine it selfe. Now, as touching corne, there is indeed wheat sowen in all the provinces, howbeit rise is in farre more use and request then it: and so in regard of these two commodities profitable for mans life; namely, wine and corne; the kingdome of China and our countrey of Japon may be compared together.

Leo. You have discoursed (Michael) of the fruitfulnesse of China, whereof I have often heard, that it is no lesse pleasant than fruitful, and I have bene especially *Chinian maps.* induced so to thinke, at the sight of the Chinian maps.

Michael. The thing it selfe agrees right well with the picture: for they that have seene the mediterran or inner parts of the kingdome of China, do report it to be a most amiable countrey, adorned with plenty of woods, with abundance of fruits and grasse, and with woonderfull variety of rivers, wherewith the Chinian kingdome is

watered like a garden; divers of which rivers doe naturally flowe, and others by arte and industry are derived into sundry places. But now I will intreat of the tranquillity and peace of China, after I have spoken a word or two concerning the maners of the inhabitants. This nation is indued with excellent wit and dexterity for the attaining of all artes, and, being very constant in their owne customes, they lightly regard the customes or fashions of other people. They use one and the same kinde of vesture, yet so, that there is some distinction betweene the apparell of the magistrate & of the common subject. They all of them do weare long haire upon their heads, and, after the maner of women, do curiously keame their dainty locks hanging downe to the ground, and, having twined and bound them up, they cover them with calles, wearing sundry caps thereupon, according to their age and condition. It seemeth that in olde time one language was common to all the provinces: notwithstanding, by reason of variety of pronunciation, it is very much altered, and is divided into sundry idiomes or proprieties of speech, according to the divers provinces: howbeit, among the magistrates, and in publike assemblies of judgement, there is one and the very same kinde of language used thorowout the whole realme, from the which (as I have sayd) the speech of ech province differeth not a little. Moreover this people is most loyall and obedient unto the king and his magistrates, which is the principall cause of their tranquillity & peace. For whereas the common sort doe apply themselves unto the discretion and becke of inferiour magistrates, and the inferiour magistrates of the superiour, and the superiour magistrates of the king himselfe, framing and composing all their actions and affaires unto that levell: a world it is to see, in what equability and indifferency of justice all of them do leade their lives, and how orderly the publike lawes are administred. Which thing notwithstanding shall be handled more at large, when we come to intreat of the government.

The dispositions & maners of the Chinians.

Their language.

Their loyaltie unto their superiours. [II. ii. 92.]

LINUS. Tell us now (Michael) of the industry of that people, whereof we have heard great reports. *Their laborious industry.*

MICHAEL. Their industry is especially to be discerned in manuary artes and occupations, and therein the Chinians do surpasse most of these Easterly nations. For there are such a number of artificers ingeniously and cunningly framing sundry devices out of golde, silver, and other mettals, as likewise of stone, wood, and other matters convenient for mans use, that the streets of cities being replenished with their shops and fine workemanship, are very woonderfull to beholde. Besides whom also there are very many Painters, using either the pensill or the needle (of which the last sort are called Embrotherers) and others also that curiously worke golde-twine upon cloth either of linnen or of cotton: whose operations of all kinds are diligently conveyed by the Portugals into India. Their industry doth no lesse appeare in founding of gunnes and in making of gunpowder, whereof are made many rare and artificiall fire-works. To these may be added the arte of Printing, albeit their letters be in maner infinite and most difficult, the portraitures whereof they cut in wood or in brasse, and with marvellous facilitie they dayly publish huge multitudes of books. Unto these mechanicall & illiberall crafts you may adde two more; that is to say, navigation and discipline of warre; both of which have bene in ancient times most diligently practised by the inhabitants of China: for (as we have before signified in the third dialogue) the Chinians sailing even as farre as India, subdued some part therof unto their owne dominion: howbeit afterward, least they should diminish the forces of their realme by dispersing them into many provinces, altering their counsell, they determined to containe themselves within their owne limits: within which limits (as I have sayd) there were in olde time vehement and cruell warres, both betweene the people of China themselves, and also against the Tartarian king, who invaded their kingdome, and by himselfe and his suc-

Painting.

Gunnes.

Printing.

Navigation.

The Tartars tyrannized over China.

cessours, for a long season, usurped the government thereof. Howbeit the kings of the Tartarian race being worne out, and their stocke and family being utterly abolished, the Chinians began to lift up their heads, and to advance themselves, injoying for these 200 yeeres last past exceeding peace and tranquillity, and at this day the posterity of the same king that expelled the Tartars, with great dignity weareth the crowne, and wieldeth the royall scepter. Albeit therefore the people of China (especially they that inhabit Southerly from the province of Paquin) are, for the most part, by reason of continuall ease and quiet, growen effeminate, and their courage is abated, notwithstanding they would proove notable and brave souldiers, if they joyned use and exercise unto their naturall fortitude. As a man may easily observe in them, that maintaine continuall warres against the most barbarous and cruel Tartars. Howbeit in this kingdome of China there is so great regard of military discipline, that no city nor towne there is destitute of a garison, the captaines and governours keeping ech man his order; which all of them, in every province, are subject unto the kings lieutenant generall for the warres, whom they call Chumpin, and yet he himselfe is subject unto the Tutan or viceroy. Let us now come unto that arte, which the Chinians do most of all professe, and which we may, not unfitly, call literature or learning. For although it be commonly reported, that many liberall sciences, and especially naturall and morall phylosophy are studied in China, and that they have Universities there, wherein such ingenuous artes are delivered and taught, yet, for the most part, this opinion is to be esteemed more popular then true: but I will declare, upon what occasion this conceit first grew. The people of China doe, above all things, professe the arte of literature; and learning it most diligently, they imploy themselves a long time and the better part of their age therein. For this cause, in all cities and townes, yea, and in pety villages also, there are

Military discipline.

The literature of China.

certaine schole-masters hired for stipends to instruct children: and their literature being (as ours in Japon is also) in maner infinite, their children are put to schole even from their infancy and tender yeeres, from whence notwithstanding such are taken away, as are judged to be unfit for the same purpose, and are trained up to marchandise or to manuary sciences: but the residue do so dedicate themselves to the study of learning, that (a strange thing it is to consider) being conversant in the principall books, they will easily tel you, if they be asked the question, how many letters be conteined in every page, and where ech letter is placed. Now, for the greater progresse and increase of learning, they (as the maner is in Europe) do appoint three degrees to the attaining of noble sciences: that is to say, the lowest, the middle degree, and the highest. Graduates of the first degree are called Siusai, of the second Quiugin, and of the third Chinzu. And in ech city or walled towne there is a publique house called the Schoole, and unto that all they doe resort from all private and pety-schooles that are minded to obtaine the first degree; where they do amplifie a sentence or theame propounded unto them by some magistrate: and they, whose stile is more elegant and refined, are, in ech city, graced with the first degree. Of such as aspire unto the second degree triall is made onely in the metropolitan or principall city of the province, whereunto, they of the first degree, every third yere, have recourse, and, in one publike house or place of assembly, doe, the second time, make an oration of another sentence obscurer then the former, and doe undergo a more severe examination. Now, there is commonly such an huge multitude of people, that this last yere, in the foresayd famous city of Cantam, by reason of the incredible assembly of persons flocking to that publike act or commencement, at the first entrance of the doores, there were many troden under foot, and quelled to death, as we have bene most certainly informed. Moreover they that sue for the highest degree are subject

Three degrees in learning.

[II. ii. 93.]

The first degree.

The second degree.

The third and highest degree.

unto a most severe and exact censure, whereby they are to be examined at the Kings Court onely, and that also every third yere next insuing the sayd yere wherein graduates of the second degree are elected in ech province, and, a certaine number being prescribed unto every particular province, they do ascend unto that highest pitch of dignity, which is in so great regard with the king himselfe, that the three principall graduates do, for honours sake, drinke off a cup filled even with the Kings owne hand, and are graced with other solemnities. Out of this order the chiefe magistrates are chosen: for after that they have attained unto this third degree, being a while trained up in the lawes of the realme, and in the precepts of urbanity, they are admitted unto divers functions. Neither are we to thinke that the Chinians be altogether destitute of other artes. For, as touching morall philosophy, all those books are fraught with the precepts thereof, which, for their instructions sake, are alwayes conversant in the hands of the foresayd students, wherein such grave and pithy sentences are set downe, that, in men void of the light of the Gospell, more can not be desired. They have books also that intreat of things and causes naturall, but herein it is to be supposed, that aswell their books as ours do abound with errors. There be other books among them, that discourse of herbs and medicines, and others of chivalry and martiall affaires. Neither can I here omit, that certaine men of China (albeit they be but few, and rare to be found) are excellent in the knowledge of astronomy, by which knowledge of theirs the dayes of the new moone incident to every moneth are truely disposed and digested, and are committed to writing and published: besides, they doe most infallibly foretell the eclipses of the Sun and Moone: and whatsoever knowledge in this arte we of Japon have, it is derived from them.

Note the extraordinary honor vouchsafed by the great King of China upon his learned graduates.

Morall philosophy.

Naturall philosophy.

Excellent astronomers in China.

Leo. We doe freely confesse that (Michael) sithens our books intreating of the same arte are, a great part of them, written in the characters or letters of China.

But now, instruct you us as touching their maner of government, wherein the Chinians are sayd greatly to excell. *The politike government of China.*

MICHAEL. That, that, in very deed, is their chiefe arte, and unto that all their learning and exercise of letters is directed. Whereas therefore, in the kingdome of China, one onely king beares rule over so many provinces, it is strange what a number of Magistrates are by him created to administer publique affaires. For (to omit them which in ech Towne and City have jurisdiction over the townesmen and citizens) there are three principall Magistrates in every province. The first is he that hath to deale in cases criminall, and is called Ganchasu: the second is the Kings Fosterer, and is called Puchinsu: the third is the Lieutenant-generall for the warres, named, as we sayd before, Chumpin. These three therefore have their place of residence in the chiefe City of the province: and the two former have certaine associates of their owne order, but of inferiour authority, appointed in divers Cities and Townes, unto whom, according to the variety of causes, the Governours of Townes, and the Maiors of Cities doe appeale. Howbeit the three forenamed Magistrates are in subjection unto the Tutan, that is, the Vice-roy, ordained in ech province. And all these Magistrates beare office for the space of three yeeres together: yet so, that for the governing of ech province, not any of the same province, but strangers, that is, men of another province, are selected: whereof it commeth to passe, that the Judges may give sentence with a farre more entire and incorrupt minde, then if they were among their owne kinsefolke and allies. Over and besides all these, there is an annuall or yeerely Magistrate, which is called Chaien, whose duety it is to make inquisition of all crimes, and especially the crimes of Magistrates, and also to punish common offences: but concerning the faults of the great magistrates to admonish the king himselfe. Of this order, every yere, are sent out of the Kings Court, for ech province, one; and going over all *Three principall magistrates in ech province.*

the Cities and Townes thereof, they do most diligently ransacke and serch out all crimes, and upon them which are imprisoned they inflict due punishment, or, being found not guilty, they dismisse them unpunished. Hence it is, that all Magistrates greatly fearing to be called in [II. ii. 94.] question by the Chaien are well kept within the limits of their callings. Besides all these Magistrates there is at either Court, namely in the North, and in the South, a *Two Senates or Counsels continually holden in China.* Senate or honourable assembly of grave counsellours, unto the which, out of all provinces, according to the neerenesse and distance of the place, affaires of greater weight and moment are referred, and by their authority divers Magistrates are created: howbeit the managing and expedition of principall affaires is committed unto the Senate of Paquin. Moreover there are every yeere certaine Magistrates appointed in ech province, to goe unto the king: and every third yeere all the Governours of Cities and of Townes do visit him at once, what time triall is made of them that aspire unto the third degree: upon which occasion there is at the same time an incredible number of people at the Kings Court. By *The causes of peace in China.* reason of this excellent order and harmony of Magistrates placed one under another, it can scarse be imagined, what sweet peace and tranquility flourisheth thorowout the whole realme, especially sithens, after speedy inquisition, persons that are guilty be put (as the maner is there) to the punishment of the bastonado: neither yet are suits or *Learning the only step to honour in China.* actions any long time delayed. Also it is not to be omitted, that for the obtaining of any dignity or magistracy, the way is open, without all respect of gentry or blood, unto all men, if they be learned, and especially if they have attained unto the third and highest degree aforesayd. Neither can it be expressed how obedient and duetifull the common sort are unto their Magistrates, and with what magnificence and pompe the sayd Magistrates come abroad: for the most part of them have fiftie or threescore Sergeants attending upon them, and going before them, two and two in a ranke: some of

them carrying Halberds, Maces, and Battle-axes: some trailing yron chaines upon the ground: others holding great roddes or staves of a certaine kinde of reede, wherewith malefactours are punished, in their hands: and two there are that carry, inclosed in a case, the Kings seale peculiar for ech office: and many others also, that shew sundry spectacles unto the people: whereunto may be added the horrible out-cries and showtes, which betweene whiles they utter, to strike a terrour into the hearts of all men: and at length come the Magistrates themselves, being carried in a throne upon the backs of foure men, sixe men, or eight men, according to the dignity of their office. Now, as concerning their houses, they are very large and stately, being built and furnished with all necessary stuffe, at the Kings owne cost, in the which, so long as their magistracy lasteth, they leade a brave and an honourable life. The sayd houses are without variety of stories one above another, which in the kingdome of China and in our Iles of Japon also are not ordinarily used for habitation, but either to keepe watch and ward, or els for solace and recreations sake (for the which purposes, eight most lofty turrets of nine stories high are built) or els for the defence of Cities. Howbeit in other regardes these buildings doe shew foorth no small magnificence: for they have their cisternes for the receit of raine-water, which are adorned with beautifull trees, set in order, round about them: and they have also their places designed for the administration of justice, and divers other convenient roomes to bestow their wives and families in. Within the doores of the foresayd habitations a certaine number of Sergeants and officers, having cabbins or little houses allotted them on both sides, doe alwayes give their attendance; and so long as matters of judgement are in deciding, they be alwayes ready at hand, that, at the direction of the Magistrates they may either beat malefactours, or by torments constraine them to tell the trueth. The sayd Magistrates also have their peculiar barges wherein to

The stately & formidable procession of the Chinian magistrates.

The houses of the Chinian magistrates.

The magistrates barges.

take the water; being in breadth and length not much unlike to the galleys of Europe, but for swiftnesse and multitude of oares, farre inferiour unto them. The rowers, sitting upon galleries without the hatches or compasse of the barge, doe moove it on forward with their oares: whereupon it commeth to passe, that the middle part of the barge affoordeth sufficient roome for the Magistrates themselves to abide in, containing chambers therein almost as convenient and handsome, as in any of their foresayd publique houses, together with butteries and kitchins, and such other places necessary for the provision and stowage of victuals.

Leo. All these things agree right well with the reports, which we have heard of the stately and renowmed kingdome of China: I would now right gladly know somewhat concerning the order which is observed in the obtaining of magistracies.

The maner of electing magistrates in China.

Michael. You have enquired of a matter most woorthy to be knowen, which I had almost omitted to entreat of. The Chinians therefore doe use a kinde of gradation in advancing men unto sundry places of authority, which for the most part is performed by the Senatours of Paquin. For first they are made Judges of Townes: then of Cities: afterward they are elected to be of that order, which decreeth punishments in cases criminall without further appeale, or of their order, that are the kings fosterers. And in both of these Orders, which are very honourable, there are many places and degrees, so that from the inferiour place they must ascend unto the superiour, untill they have attained unto the highest dignity of all: and immediatly after that they come to be Vice-royes. Howbeit this gradation is not alwayes accomplished in one and the same province, but in changing their offices they change places and provinces also. Moreover, next after the office of Vice-roy they are capable to be chosen Senatours of Nanquin, and last of all to be elected into the Senate of Paquin. Now, there is such an order and

Degrees unto honour.

[II. ii. 95.]

methode observed in the ascending unto these dignities, that all men may easily conjecture, what office any one is to undertake. And there is so great diligence and celerity used for the substitution of one into the roome of another, that, for the same purpose, messengers are dispatched by land, upon swift post-horses, unto divers provinces, almost twenty dayes journey from the Kings Court. And, to be short, there is such district severity in degrading those that unjustly or negligently demeane themselves, from an honourable unto an inferiour and base office, or altogether in depriving them of the kings authority: that all Magistrates doe stand in feare of nothing in the world more then of that. The same order, almost, is observed among the Captaines and Lieu-tenants generall for the warres: except onely in them, that their birth and offspring is respected: for many there be, who descending by parentage from such men as have in times past atchieved brave exploits in warfare, so soone as they come to sufficient yeeres, are created Centurions, Colonels, and Governours, untill at last they attaine to be Lieu-tenants generall and Protectours of some whole province: who notwithstanding (as I have sayd) are in all things subject unto the Viceroy. All the foresayd Magistrates both of warre and of peace have a set number of attendants allotted unto them, enjoying a stipend, and carying certaine ensignes and peculiar badges of their office: and (besides the ordinary watch, which souldiers appointed for the same purpose doe in the night season, after the City gates be shut, keepe in their forts) wheresoever any Magistrate is, either at his house or in his barge, the sayd attendants striking upon a cymball of brasse, at certaine appointed times, do keepe most circumspect and continuall watch and ward about his person.

Riding post.

Martiall dignities.

LINUS. You have (Michael) sufficiently discoursed of the Magistrates: informe us now of the king himselfe, whose name is so renowmed and spread abroad.

MICHAEL. Concerning this matter I will say so much

onely as by certaine rumours hath come to my knowledge: for of matters appertaining unto the kings Court we have no eye-witnesses, sithens the fathers of the society have not as yet proceeded unto Paquin, who so soone as (by Gods assistance) they shall there be arrived, will by their letters more fully advertise us. The king of China therefore is honoured with woonderfull reverence and submission thorowout his whole Realme: and whensoever any of his chiefe Magistrates speaketh unto him, he calleth him VAN-SVI, signifying thereby that he wisheth tenne thousands of yeeres unto him. The succession of the kingdome dependeth upon the bloud royall: for the eldest sonne borne of the kings first and lawfull wife obtaineth the kingdome after his fathers decease: neither doe they deprive themselves of the kingly authority in their life time (as the maner is in our Ilands of Japon) but the custome of Europe is there observed. Now, that the safety and life of the king may stand in more security, his yoonger brethren, and the rest borne of concubines are not permitted to live in the kings Court: but places of habitation are by the king himselfe assigned unto them in divers provinces farre distant asunder, where they dwell most commodiously, being comparable unto kings for their buildings and revenues: howbeit they exercise no authority over the people, but all the government of those Cities wherein they dwell, concerneth the Magistrates, who notwithstanding have the sayde Princes in high regard and honour, and doe visit them twise in a moneth, and salute them kneeling upon their knees, and bowing their faces downe to the earth: and yet they communicate nothing unto them as touching the administration of the Common-wealth. These are they which may properly be called the Peeres or Princes of the Realme of China: for they derive their houses and revenues unto their posterity, and so are these royall families continually preserved. But to returne unto the king himselfe, hee is most chary in observing the Chinian lawes and customes,

The king of China.

Van-Svi.

The succession of the crowne.

The kings yonger brethren.

and diligently exerciseth himselfe in learning so much as concernes his estate, sheweth himselfe dayly unto his chiefe Magistrates, and communeth of matters appertaining to the publique commodity of the Realme. His palace is of woonderfull largenesse and capacity, out of the which he very seldome takes his progresse; and whensoever he doeth so, there are twelve chariots brought foorth, all of them most like one to another both in workemanship and in value, that no man may discerne in which the king himselfe is placed. He followeth in religion especially the opinions of the Magistrates, attributing divine power unto heaven and earth as unto the parents of all, and with great solemnity sacrificing unto them. He hath divers most sumptuous Temples dedicated unto his ancestours, whereunto likewise he ascribeth divine honour, and yet ceaseth hee not to favour Priests of other sects, yea hee erecteth Temples unto their Patrons, endowing them with most rich revenues; and so often as any urgent necessity requireth, he enjoynes continuall fastings and prayers unto them: and after this sort he doeth in a maner patronize all the idolatrous sects of his Realme, and shewing himselfe ready to embrace any false religion whatsoever, he liveth in sundry and manifolde kindes of superstition. Out of all the former particulars by me alledged, you may easily conjecture that the administration of the kingdome of China doeth, for the most part, agree with the instinct of nature, authority being committed, not unto rude and unskilfull persons, but unto such as have beene conversant in the use and exercise or learning, yea, and in promoting learned men unto magistracies, great consideration is had of their wisedome, justice, and of other vertues esteemed by the Chinians: wherefore the way being open for all men, without any respect of degree or parentage, to obtaine any of the foresayd dignities, it can not be but that this most mighty and famous kingdome must needes enjoy exceeding peace and tranquillity.

Twelve chariots.

The idolatrous religion of the king.

[II. ii. 96.]

The civill government of China most agreeable to the instinct of nature.

LEO. I would nowe (Michael) right gladly understand, what kinde of urbanity or civill demeanour both the common people and the Magistrates doe use one towardes another: for it is not likely that where such due administration of justice is, common civility, which so well beseemeth all men, should be wanting.

The five vertues principally esteemed among the Chinians.

MICHAEL. You have hit even the very naile on the head: for among the five vertues, which the Chinians principally regard, urbanity or courtesy is one; the rest are piety, a thankefull remembrance of benefites, true dealing in contracts or bargaines, and wisedome in atchieving of matters: with the praises and commendations of which vertues the Chinian bookes are full fraught. Now as touching their urbanity, it is much unlike unto ours in Japan, and unto that of Europe: howbeit under two principall kindes the rule of their urbanity or courtesie may be comprehended: whereof one is observed betweene equals, and the other betweene superiours and inferiours. For when men of equall dignity meet together, they stand bending their backes, and bowing their heads downe to the ground, and this they doe either once or twise, or sometimes thrise. Now, when the inferiour meets with his superiour, the sayd inferiour, for the most part kneeling lowly on his knees, enclineth his countenance downe to the earth. But how often and when this obeizance is to be performed it is woonderfull what a number of rules and prescriptions are set downe, which to recount would require a long time. Somewhat also I will say as touching their piety, and especially of the piety which they use towards their parents, which verily is so exceeding great, that for the space of three whole yeres together, the sonnes being cladde in mourning vestures doe bewaile the death of their parents, which duety is performed not onely by the common sort, but even by all the Magistrates themselves, and that most curiously and diligently. And, that all men may wholly give their attendance unto this businesse, it is provided by a most

Urbanity.

The Chinians great piety towards their parents.

inviolable law among the Chinians, that Magistrates, upon the death of their parents, must foorthwith renounce their authority, and three whole yeeres, for the performance of their fathers exequies, must betake themselves unto a private kinde of living: which also is most duely put in practise by the Senatours of the Kings owne Councell. For albeit a man be right gracious in the eyes of his Prince, yea, and such an one, as upon whom the administration of the Realme doeth principally depend; yet having heard of the death of his parents, that is, of his father or his mother, he hies himselfe immediatly home to solemnize their funerals: insomuch that if the king would retaine him still in his office, he should be esteemed by the people, as a transgressour of the lawes and customes of China: which accident (as it is recorded) in ancient times fel out even so. For whenas a certain king most familiarly used a certaine Senatour of his about the managing and expedition of publique affaires, and understanding well how necessary the helpe of his foresayd Senatour was, would gladly, after the death of his father, have retained him still in his office: yet a certaine other man, being a welwiller unto the Chinian lawes, could in no case abide it, but checking his Prince with sharpe rebukes, objected the transgression of the law against him. The king waxing wroth menaced present death unto the man: but when the party being no wit danted with the terrour of death, persisted still in his sayings, the king changing his determination dismissed the Senatour to mourne for his father, but as for his reprehender he advanced him unto an higher dignity.

A memorable story.

Linus. I perceive (Michael) that drawing to an end of these dialogues, and being weary of your long race, you begin to affect brevity: yet let it not seeme troublesome unto you to speake somewhat of the religion of China, which onely thing seemes to be wanting in this present dialogue.

The religion of China.

Michael. I confesse indeed that I endevour to be briefe, not so much in regard of wearisomnesse, as for

feare least I have bene over tedious unto you: howbeit I will not faile but accomplish that which I have undertaken, and (according to your request) adde somewhat more concerning religion. Whereas therefore the kingdome of China hath hitherto bene destitute of true religion, and now the first beginnings thereof are included in most narrow bounds, that nation being otherwise a people most ingenious, and of an extraordinary and high capacity, hath alwayes lived in great errours and ignorance of the trueth, being distracted into sundry opinions, and following manifolde sects. And among these sects there are three more famous then the rest: the first is of them that professe the doctrine of one Confucius a notable philosopher. This man (as it is reported in the history of his life) was one of most upright and incorrupt maners, whereof he wrote sundry treatises very pithily and largely, which above all other books, are seriously read and perused by the Chinians. The same doctrine do all Magistrates embrace, and others also that give their mindes to the study of letters, a great part whereof Confucius is sayd to have invented: and he is had in so great honour, that all his followers and clients, upon the dayes of the new and full Moone, doe assemble themselves at the common Schoole, which I have above mentioned, and before his image, which is worshipped with burning of incense and with tapers, they doe thrise bend their knees, and bow their heads downe to the ground; which not onely the common scholars, but the chiefe Magistrates do performe. The summe of the foresayd doctrine is, that men should follow the light of nature as their guide, and that they should diligently endevour to attaine unto the vertues by me before mentioned: and lastly, that they should employ their labour about the orderly government of their families and of the Common-wealth. All these things are in very deed praise-woorthy, if Confucius had made any mention of almighty God and of the life to come, and had not ascribed so much unto the heavens, and unto fatall necessity, nor yet had so curiously intreated

[II. ii. 97.] *Three principall sectes among the Chinians.*

Confucius authour of the first sect.

The summe of Confucius his doctrine.

of worshipping the images of their forefathers. In which regard he can very hardly or not at all be excused from the crime of idolatry: notwithstanding it is to be granted, that none other doctrine among the Chinians approcheth so neere unto the trueth as this doeth. The second sect is of them which follow the instructions of Xaquam, or as the Chinians call him Xequiam, whose opinions, because they are well knowen amongst us, it were bootlesse for me to repeat; especially sithens, in the Catechisme composed by our grave visitour, they are notably refuted. This doctrine doe all they embrace, which are in China called Cen, but with us at Japon are named Bonzi. For this I doe briefly and by the way give you to understand, that all words of the Chinians language are of one sillable onely, so that if there be any word that consisteth of more sillables then one, it consisteth also of more wordes then one. These sectaries called Cen doe shave their beards and their heads, and doe for the most part, together with divers of their associates, inhabit the Temples of Xaquam, or of others which in regard of the same profession have in their Kalenders beene canonized for Saints, and doe rehearse certaine prayers after their maner, either upon books or beads, using other ceremonies after the maner of our Bonzi. These men have some inckling of the life to come, and of the rewardes of good men, and the punishments of the wicked: howbeit all their assertions are fraught with errours. The third sect is of them which are called Tauzu: and those doe imitate a certaine other man, to be adored, as they thinke, for his holinesse. These also are Priests after their kinde, howbeit they let their haire grow, and doe in other observations differ from the former. Nowe, because the sect of Confucius is the most famous of all the three, and the two other sects called Cen and Tauzu are not much addicted unto learning, their religion prevailing onely among the common sort, the Priests of both the sayd sects doe leade a most base and servile life amongst the Chinians, insomuch that they kneele downe before the Magistrates, and

Xequiam author of the second sect, whose followers are called Cen or Bonzi.

Note.

The third sect.

are not permitted to sit beside them, and sometimes, if the Magistrate please, are abased unto the punishment of the bastonado: whereas in our Iles of Japon it is farre otherwise, Priests, even of false religion, being had in so great honour among us.

LEO. I heard also (Michael) that the Saracens superstition takes place in China: now, whether it doth or no, you can resolve us.

The superstition of the Saracens.

MICHAEL. That forren superstition was brought into China what time the Tartars invaded the kingdome, and usurped the government thereof. All the Saracens therefore in China are originally descended of the Tartars, who, because they were an infinite number, could not utterly be expelled and rooted out of the kingdome, but remaining still there, have propagated their posterity, though not their religion. These therefore are souldiers for the greater part of them, and sometimes doe obtaine martiall dignities: and except a few ceremonies of their superstition which is nowe become stale and almost worne out, they doe live altogether after the Chinians fashion, their predecessours being brought into the same kingdome about foure hundred yeeres agoe.

LINUS. Now (Michael) let us heare you say somewhat of the Christian religion, which as we hope hath set most happy footing in that kingdome.

Christian religion planted in China.

MICHAEL. I could say much concerning those most wished and acceptable beginnings, were they not already published in Japon by the letters of the fathers: howbeit I will make a briefe rehearsall of all things, that I may not seeme altogether to have abandoned this labour. You know that from the time wherein the fathers of the society arrived in our Ilands, to the end they might augment Christian religion, they were in like sort most
[II. ii. 98.] carefull how they might insinuate themselves into the innermost parts of the kingdome of China. In the middest of this endevour and travell Francis Xavier, a most devout man of the foresayd society, departed out of this present life at the Ile of Sancian (which some call

Sangiam) leaving an example unto the rest of his associates, how they should likewise doe their best to plant the religion of Christ in that nation. This man was seconded by others, who used all meanes, and left no practise unattempted, that they might bring these good beginnings unto a prosperous issue: howbeit they were greatly hindered by reason of an ancient custome in China, in regard whereof they doe not without great difficulty and circumspection admit any strangers into their dominions, except those which having a long time executed the office of ambassadours doe ordinarily every third yeere present themselves before the king: in the admission of whom likewise there is marvellous care used, that they may not easily espie and become acquainted with the affaires of the Realme. Heereunto may be added, that the Chinians are great contemners of other nations, and most constant observers of their owne lawes and customes: in all which respects it came to passe, that there was woonderfull labour and diligence employed above thirty yeeres together, onely to get an entrance, untill in the yeere one thousand five hundred fourescore and three, two fathers of the foresayd society, that had pretty skill in the letters and language of China, utterly despairing of mans helpe, and depending upon the providence of almighty God, obtained licence of the Tutan or Vice-roy to build them an house and a Church in the City of Xauquin, which by reason of the commodiousnesse thereof is the seat of the Viceroy himselfe. This worke being begunne, the sayd fathers of the society, for the novelty thereof, were a few yeeres right well entreated by the Magistrates: insomuch that two others out of India had free and easie accesse unto them, one couple remaining still in their foresayd house at Xauquin, and the other two taking their journey for the inner provinces, to convert more people unto the faith: who notwithstanding afterward, other Magistrates not approoving of their attempts, were constrained to retire. Nowe all the time wherein the foresayd fathers abode at Xauquin

An ancient custome worthy ye observation.

The Chinians contemne other nations.

(being more then five yeeres) certaine of the common people were restrained from false superstition to Christian religion, and seventy persons were baptized. But the enemy of mankinde, who omitteth none opportunity for the hinderance of Christian religion, suggested into the mindes of the Chinians (being, as I sayd, of their owne nature, a people estranged from the traffique and acquaintance of other nations, and alwayes being too too suspicious of strangers) that they should exhibite letters of supplication unto the Caien and the Tutan their principall Magistrates, to have the fathers expelled out of Xauquin: which Magistrates repairing unto their foresayd house and Church entered consultation how they might bannish them out of the sayd City of Xauquin: in which thing verily they used great moderation, not any way offending or exasperating the mindes of the fathers, but onely signifying that they had regard unto the estate of their Commonwealth. For the Tutan or Vice-roy calling the fathers unto him, and (to let passe other accidents) using courteous and familiar conference with them, declared by many arguments, that their habitation in the City of Xauquin was not convenient, especially sithens so many Magistrates resorted unto that City, who would take great offence at the presence of strangers. For the which cause he perswaded them to accept some part of the money which they had bestowed in the building of their house, and so to returne either home into their owne countrey, or unto the port of Macao. Howbeit, such was the instant supplication of the fathers, and so woorthy of compassion, that the Tutan or Vice-roy, in the extreame and mediterrane borders of the province of Coantum, assigned unto them a new habitation at the city called Xaucheo, commending them also to a certaine Magistrate, who was come from the same place to salute him. Thither therefore the sayd fathers, not without great sorrow and griefe of the Christians, hied themselves, and as we are informed by

their last letters, they have even now layed the foundation of their first building, and have also written that they are like to live much more peaceably and conveniently for the propagating of Christian religion. These be the first beginnings of Christianity in China, where, even as in other places of the Christian Common-wealth, the seed is to be sowen with great labour and teares, that acceptable fruits may be reaped with gladnesse.

Leo. It is even as you have sayd (Michael) and nowe for this your pleasant and eloquent discourse we do acknowledge our selves much bounden unto you.

A Letter written from Goa, the principall City of all the East Indies, by one Thomas Stevens an English man, and sent to his father, M. Thomas Stevens: Anno 1579. [II. ii. 99.]



After most humble commendations: These shall be to crave your dayly blessing, with like commendations unto my mother; and withall, to certifie you of my being: according to your will and my duety. I wrote unto you taking my journey from Italy to Portugall, which letters I thinke are come to your hands, so that presuming thereupon, I thinke I have the lesse need at this time to tell you the cause of my departing, which neverthelesse in one word I may conclude, if I do but name obedience. I came to Lisbon toward the end of March, eight dayes before the departure of the shippes, so late that if they had not bene stayed about some weighty matters, they had bene long gone before our comming: insomuch that there were others ordained to goe in our places, that the kings provision and ours also might not be in vaine. Neverthelesse our sudden comming tooke place, and the fourth of Aprill five ships departed for Goa, wherein besides shipmen

and souldiers, there were a great number of children which in the seas beare out better then men, and no marvell, when that many women also passe very well. The setting foorth from the port I need not to tell how solemne it is with trumpets, and shooting of ordinance, you may easily imagine it, considering that they go in the maner of warre. The tenth of the foresayd moneth we came to the sight of Porto Santo neere unto Madera, where an English shippe set upon ours (which was then also alone) with a few shots, which did no harme, but after that our ship had layed out her greatest ordinance, they straight departed as they came. The English shippe was very faire and great, which I was sory to see so ill occupied, for she went roving about, so that we saw her againe at the Canarian Iles, unto the which we came the thirteenth of the sayd moneth, and good leisure we had to woonder at the high mountaine of the Iland Tenerif, for we wandred betweene that and great Canaria foure dayes by reason of contrary windes: and briefly, such evill weather we had untill the foureteenth of May, that they despaired, to compasse the Cape of Good hope that yeere. Neverthelesse, taking our voyage betweene Guinea and the Ilands of Capo Verde, without seeing of any land at all, we arrived at length unto the coast of Guinie, which the Portugals so call, chiefly that part of the burning Zone, which is from the sixt degree unto the Equinoctiall, in which parts they suffered so many inconveniences of heats, and lacke of windes, that they thinke themselves happy when they have passed it: for sometimes the ship standeth there almost by the space of many dayes, sometime she goeth, but in such order that it were almost as good to stand still. And the greatest part of this coast not cleare, but thicke and cloudy, full of thunder and lightening, and raine so unholesome, that if the water stand a little while, all is full of wormes, and falling on the meat which is hanged up, it maketh

it straight full of wormes. Along all that coast we often times saw a thing swimming upon the water like a cocks combe (which they call a ship of Guinea) but the colour much fairer; which combe standeth upon a thing almost like the swimmer of a fish in colour and bignesse, and beareth underneath in the water, strings, which save it from turning over. This thing is so poisonous, that a man cannot touch it without great perill. In this coast, that is to say, from the sixt degree unto the Equinoctiall, we spent no lesse then thirty dayes, partly with contrary windes, partly with calme. The thirtieth of May we passed the Equinoctiall with contentation, directing our course aswell as we could to passe the promontory, but in all that gulfe, & in all the way beside, we found so often calmes, that the expertest mariners wondred at it. And in places where are alwayes woont to be most horrible tempests, we found most quiet calmes which was very troublesome to those ships which be the greatest of all other, and cannot go without good windes. Insomuch, that when it is tempest almost intollerable for other ships, and maketh them maine all their sailes, these hoise up, and saile excellent well, unlesse the waters be too too furious, which seldome happened in our navigation. You shall understand, that being passed the line, they cannot straightway go the next way to the promontory: but according to the winde, they draw alwayes as neere South as they can to put themselves in the latitude of the point, which is 35 degrees and an halfe, and then they take their course towards the East, and so compasse the point. But the winde served us so, that at 33 degrees we did direct our course toward the point or promontory of Good hope.

You know that it is hard to saile from East to West, or contrary, because there is no fixed point in all the skie, whereby they may direct their course, wherefore I shall tell you what helps God provided for these men. There is not a fowle that appereth, or

signe in the aire, or in the sea, which they have not written, which have made the voyages heretofore. Wherfore, partly by their owne experience, and pondering withall what space the ship was able to make [II. ii. 100.] with such a winde, and such direction, and partly by the experience of others, whose books and navigations they have, they gesse whereabouts they be, touching degrees of longitude, for of latitude they be alwayes sure: but the greatest and best industry of all is to *The variation of the compasse.* marke the variation of the needle or compasse, which in the Meridian of the Iland of S. Michael, which is one of the Azores in the latitude of Lisbon, is just North, and thence swarveth towards the East so much, that betwixt the Meridian aforesayd, and the point of Africa it carrieth three or foure quarters of 32. And againe in the point of Afrike, a little beyond the point that is called Cape das Agulias (in English the needles) it returneth againe unto the North, and that place passed, it swarveth againe toward the West, as it did before *Signes about the Cape of Bona Speransa.* proportionally. As touching our first signes, the neerer we came to the people of Afrike, the more strange kindes of fowles appeared, insomuch that when we came within no lesse then thirty leagues (almost an hundred miles) and sixe hundred miles as we thought from any Iland, as good as three thousand fowles of sundry kindes followed our ship: some of them so great that their wings being opened from one point to the other, contained seven spannes, as the Mariners sayd. A marvellous thing to see how God provided, so that in so wide a sea these fowles are all fat, and nothing wanteth them. The Portugals have named them all according to some propriety which they have: some they call Rushtailes, because their tailes be not proportionable to their bodies, but long and small like a rush, some forked tailes because they be very broad and forked, some Velvet sleeves, because they have wings of the colour of velvet, and bowe them as a man boweth his elbow. This bird is alwayes welcome, for he appeareth

neerest the Cape. I should never make an end if I should tell all particulars: but it shall suffice briefly to touch a few, which yet shall be sufficient, if you marke them, to give occasion to glorifie almighty God in his wonderfull works, and such variety in his creatures. And to speake somewhat of fishes in all places of calme, especially in the burning Zone, neere the line (for without we never saw any) there waited on our ship fishes as long as a man, which they call Tuberones, they come to eat such things as from the shippe fall into the sea, not refusing men themselves if they light upon them. And if they finde any meat tied in the sea, they take it for theirs. These have waiting on them six or seven small fishes (which never depart) with gardes blew and greene round about their bodies, like comely serving men: and they go two or three before him, and some on every side. Moreover, they have other fishes which cleave alwayes unto their body, and seeme to take such superfluities as grow about them, and they are sayd to enter into their bodies also to purge them if they need. The Mariners in time past have eaten of them, but since they have seene them eate men their stomacks abhorre them. Neverthelesse, they draw them up with great hooks, & kill of them as many as they can, thinking that they have made a great revenge. There is another kind of fish as bigge almost as a herring, which hath wings and flieth, and they are together in great number. These have two enemies, the one in the sea, the other in the aire. In the sea the fish which is called Albocore, as big as a Salmon, followeth them with great swiftnesse to take them. This poore fish not being able swim fast, for he hath no finnes, but swimmeth with mooving of his taile, shutting his wings, lifteth himselfe above the water, and flieth not very hie: the Albocore seeing that, although he have no wings, yet he giveth a great leape out of the water, and sometimes catcheth him, or els he keepeth himselfe under the water going that way on as fast as he flieth. And when the fish being weary of

Fishes on the sea coast of Africa.

the aire, or thinking himselfe out of danger, returneth into the water, the Albocore meeteth with him: but sometimes his other enemy the sea-crow, catcheth him before he falleth. With these and like sights, but alwayes making our supplications to God for good weather and salvation of the ship, we came at length unto the point, so famous & feared of all men: but we found there no tempest, only great waves, where our Pilot was a little overseene: for whereas commonly al other never come within sight of land, but seeing signes ordinary, and finding bottome, go their way sure and safe, he thinking himselfe to have winde at will, shot so nigh the land that the winde turning into the South, and the waves being exceeding great, rolled us so nere the land, that the ship stood in lesse then 14 fadoms of water, no more then sixe miles from the Cape, which is called Das Agulias, and there we stood as utterly cast away: for under us were rocks of maine stone so sharpe, and cutting, that no ancre could hold the ship, the shore so evill, that nothing could take land, and the land itselfe so full of Tigers, and people that are savage, and killers of all strangers, that we had no hope of life nor comfort, but onely in God and a good conscience. Notwithstanding, after we had lost ancres, hoising up the sailes for to get the ship a coast in some safer place, or when it should please God, it pleased his mercy suddenly, where no man looked for helpe, to fill our sailes with wind from the land, & so we escaped, thanks be to God. And the day following, being in the place where they are alwayes wont to catch fish, we also fell a fishing, and so many they tooke, that they served all the ship for that day, and part of the next. And one of them pulled up a corall of great bignesse and price. For there they say (as we saw by experience) that the corals doe grow in the maner of stalks upon the rocks in the bottome, and waxe hard and red. The day of perill was the nine and twentieth of July. And you shall understand that, the Cape passed, there be two wayes to India: one within

Note.

Corall.

[II. ii. 101.]

Two wayes beyond ye cape of Good hope.

the Ile of S. Laurence, which they take willingly, because they refresh themselves at Mosambique a fortnight or a moneth, not without great need, and thence in a moneth more land in Goa. The other is without the Ile of S. Laurence, which they take when they set foorth so late, and come so late to the point, that they have no time to take the foresayd Mosambique, and then they goe heavily, because in this way they take no port. And by reason of the long navigation, and want of food and water, they fall into sundry diseases, their gummes waxe great, and swell, and they are faine to cut them away, their legges swell, and all the body becommeth sore, and so benummed, that they can not stirre hand nor foot, and so they die for weakenesse, others fall into fluxes and agues, and die thereby. And this way it was our chance to make: yet though we had more then one hundred and fifty sicke, there died not past seven and twenty; which losse they esteemed not much in respect of other times. Though some of ours were diseased in this sort, yet, thanks be to God, I had my health all the way, contrary to the expectation of many: God send me my health so well in the land, if it may be to his honour and service. This way is full of privy rockes and quicke-sands, so that sometimes we durst not saile by night, but by the providence of God we saw nothing, nor never found bottome untill we came to the coast of India. When we had passed againe the line, and were come to the third degree or somewhat more, we saw crabs swimming on the water that were red as though they had bene sodden: but this was no signe of land. After, about the eleventh degree, the space of many dayes, more then ten thousand fishes by estimation followed round about our ship, whereof we caught so many, that for fifteene dayes we did eate nothing els, and they served our turne very well: for at this time we had neither meat nor almost any thing els to eate, our navigation growing so long that it drew neere to seven moneths, where as commonly they goe it

They commonly saile from Lisbon to Goa in 5 moneths.

in five, I meane when they saile the inner way. But these fishes were not signe of land, but rather of deepe sea. At length we tooke a couple of birds, which were a kinde of Hawks, whereof they joyed much, thinking that they had bene of India, but indeed they were of Arabia, as we found afterward. And we that thought we had bene neere India, were in the same latitude neere Zocotoro, an Ile in the mouth of the Red sea. But there God sent us great winds from the Northeast or North-northeast, whereupon unwillingly they bare up toward the East, and thus we went tenne dayes without seeing signe of land, whereby they perceived their errour: for they had directed their course before alwayes Northeast, coveting to multiply degrees of latitude, but partly the difference of the Needle, and most of all the running seas, which at that time ran Northwest, had drawen us to this other danger, had not God sent us this winde, which at length waxed larger, and restored us to our right course. These running seas be so perillous that they deceive the most part of the governours, and some be so little curious, contenting themselves with ordinary experience, that they care not to seeke out any meanes to know when they swarve, neither by the compasse, nor by any other triall. The first signe of land were certaine fowles which they knew to be of India: the second, boughes of palmes and sedges: the third, snakes swimming on the water, and a substance which they call by the name of a coine of money, as broad and as round as a groat, woonderfully printed and stamped of nature, like unto some coine. And these two last signes be so certaine, that the next day after, if the winde serve, they see land, which we did to our great joy, when all our water (for you know they make no beere in those parts) and victuals began to faile us. And to Goa we came the foure and twentieth day of October, there being received with passing great charity. The people be tawny, but not disfigured in their lips & noses, as the Moores and Cafres of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation, or at least the most

Running seas very dangerous.

Certaine signs of land.

They arrived at Goa the 24 of October.


GOA fortissima Indiæ urbs in Christianorum potestatem anno


anno Salutis 1500 deuenit

part, goe naked, saving an apron of a span long, and as much in bredth before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them, girded about with a string and no more: and thus they thinke them as well as we with all our trimming. Of the fruits and trees that be here I cannot now speake, for I should make another letter as long as this. For hitherto I have not seene a tree here, whose like I have seene in Europe, the vine excepted, which neverthelesse here is to no purpose, so that all the wines are brought out of Portugall. The drinke of this countrey is good water, or wine of the Palme tree, or of a fruit called Cocos. And this shall suffice for this time. If God send me my health, I shall have opportunity to write to you once againe. Now the length of my letter compelleth me to take my leave: and thus I wish your most prosperous health. From Goa the tenth of November, 1579.

Your loving sonne Thomas Stevens.

A briefe relation of the great magnificence and rich traffike of the kingdome of Pegu beyond the East India, written by Frey Peter of Lisbon, to his cousin Frey Diego of Lisbon, from Cochin. [II. ii. 102.]



Received your letters in the harbour of Damaon by a caravell of advise that came from Malacca, which brought shot, powder, and other provision for the furnishing of foure gallies and a great gallion, which are now in building, to keepe our coast for feare of great store of men of warre, being Moores, which trouble us very sore. At that instant when I received your letters I was newly come from the kingdome of Pegu, where I had remained one yeere and an halfe, and from thence I departed to the city of Cochin in October 1587. The newes which I can certifie you of concerning these

The coast of India greatly troubled with Moores.

countreys are: That this king of Pegu is the mightiest king of men, & the richest that is in these parts of the world: for he bringeth into the field at any time, when he hath warres with other princes, above a million of fighting men: howbeit they be very leane and small people, and are brought unto the field without good order. He is lord of the Elephants, and of all the golde and silver mines, and of all the pearles and precious stones: so that he hath the greatest store of treasure that ever was heard of in these parts. The countrey people call him The God of trueth and of justice. I had great conference with this king, and with the head captaine of the Portugals, which is one of the countrey. They demanded of me many questions as touching the law and faith of Jesus Christ, and as touching the Ten Commandements. And the king gave his consent that our Order should build a Church in his countrey, which was halfe builded; but our perverse and malicious Portugals plucked it downe againe: for whereas it is a countrey wherein our nation gaine very much by their commodities, they fearing that by the building of this Church there would be greater resort thither, and so their trade should be impaired, if their great gaines should be knowen unto others then those which found this countrey out first, therefore they were so unwilling that the building of this Church should goe forward. Our Portugals which are here in this realme are woorse people then the Gentiles. I preached divers times among those heathen people; but being obstinate they say, that as their fathers beleeved so they will beleeve: for if their forefathers went to the divell so they will. Whereupon I returned backe againe to our monastery to certifie our father provinciall of the estate of this New found countrey. It is the best and richest countrey in all this East India; and it is thought to be richer then China.

Abundance of golde, silver, pearles, & precious stones in Pegu.

The great gaine of the Portugals in Pegu.

Pegu the best & richest countrey in all the East India.

I am afrayd that the warres which his Majesty hath with England will be the utter undoing and spoile of Spaine: for these countreys likewise are almost spoiled

with civill warres, which the Moores have against the Gentiles: for the kings here are up in armes all the countrey over. Here is an Indian which is counted a Prophet, which hath prophesied that there will a Dragon arise in a strange countrey, which will do great hurt to Spaine. How it will fall out, onely God doth know. And thus I rest: from this monastery of Cochin the 28 of December, 1589.

A prophesie of an Indian against Spaine.

Your good cousin and assured friend
frier Peter of Lisbon.

A voyage with three tall ships, the Penelope Admirall, the Marchant royall Viceadmirall, and the Edward Bonaventure Rereadmirall, to the East Indies, by the Cape of Buona Speransa, to Quitangone neere Mosambique, to the Iles of Comoro and Zanzibar on the backeside of Africa, and beyond Cape Comori in India, to the Iles of Nicubar and of Gomes Polo within two leagues of Sumatra, to the Ilands of Pulo Pinaom, and thence to the maine land of Malacca, begunne by M. George Raymond, in the yeere 1591, and performed by M. James Lancaster, and written from the mouth of Edmund Barker of Ipswich, his lieutenant in the sayd voyage, by M. Richard Hakluyt.

OUr fleet of the three tall ships above-named departed from Plimmouth the 10 of April 1591, and arrived at the Canarie-ilands the 25 of the same, from whence we departed the 29 of April. The second of May we were in the height of Cape Blanco. The fift we passed the tropique of Cancer. The eight we were in the height of Cape Verde. All this time we went with a faire winde

at Northeast, alwayes before the winde untill the 13 of the same moneth, when we came within 8 degrees of the Equinoctiall line, where we met with a contrary winde. Here we lay off and on in the sea untill the sixt of June, on which day we passed the sayd line. While we lay [II. ii. 103.] thus off and on, we tooke a Portugal Caravel laden by marchants of Lisbon for Brasile, in which Caravel we had some 60 tunnes of wine, 1200 jarres of oyle, about 100 jarres of olives, certaine barrels of capers, three fats of peason, with divers other necessaries fit for our voyage: which wine, oyle, olives and capers were better to us then gold. We had two men died before wee passed the line, and divers sicke, which tooke their sicknesse in those hote climates: for they be wonderful unholesome from 8 degrees of Northerly latitude unto the line, at that time of the yeere: for we had nothing but Ternados, with such thunder, lightning, and raine, that we could not keep our men drie 3 houres together, which was an occasion of the infection among them, and their eating of salt victuals, with lacke of clothes to shift them. After we passed the line, we had the wind still at Eastsoutheast, which caried us along the coast of Brasil 100 leagues from the maine, til we came in 26 degrees to the Southward of the line, where the wind came up to the North, at which time we did account, that the Cape of Buona esperansa did beare off us East and by South, betwixt 900 and 1000 leagues. Passing this gulfe from the coast of Brasil unto the Cape we had the wind often variable as it is upon our coast, but for the most part so, that we might lie our course. The 28 of July we had sight of the foresayd Cape of Buona esperansa: untill the 31 wee lay off and on with the wind contrary to double the Cape, hoping to double it, & so to have gone seventie leagues further to a place called Agoada de S. Bras, before we would have sought to have put into any harbour. But our men being weake and sicke in all our shippes, we thought good to seeke some place to refresh them. With which consent we bare up with

Three occasions of sicknes neere the line.

the land to the Northward of the Cape, and going along the shore, we espied a goodly Baie with an Iland lying to Seawards of it, into which we did beare, and found it very commodious for our ships to ride in. This Baie is called Agoada de Saldanha, lying 15 leagues Northward on the hither side of the Cape. The first of August being Sunday we came to an anker in the Baie, sending our men on land, and there came unto them certaine blacke Salvages very brutish which would not stay, but retired from them. For the space of 15 or 20 dayes we could find no reliefe but onely foules which wee killed with our pieces, which were cranes and geese: there was no fish but muskles and other shel-fish, which we gathered on the rockes. After 15 or 20 dayes being here, our Admirall went with his pinnasse unto the Iland which lieth off this Baie, where hee found great store of Penguines & Seales, whereof he brought good plenty with him. And twise after that we sent certain of our men, which at both times brought their bots lading unto our ships. After we had bene here some time, we got here a Negro, whom we compelled to march into the country with us, making signs to bring us some cattell; but at this time we could come to the sight of none, so we let the Negro goe with some trifles. Within 8 dayes after, he with 30 or 40 other Negroes, brought us downe some 40 bullocks and oxen, with as many sheepe: at which time we bought but few of them. But within 8 dayes after they came downe with as many more, & then we bought some 24 oxen with as many sheepe. We bought an oxe for two knives, a stirke for a knife, and a sheepe for a knife, and some we bought for lesse value then a knife. The oxen be very large and well fleshed, but not fat. The sheepe are very big and very good meat, they have no woll on their backs but haire, and have great tailes like the sheepe in Syria. There be divers sorts of wild beasts, as the Antilope, (wherof M. Lancaster killed one of the bignes of a yong colt) the red & fallow Deere, with other great beasts unknowen unto

Agoada de Saldanha.

Great store of Penguins and Seales.

Bullocks, oxen, and sheepe, dog-cheape.

us. Here are also great store of over-growen monkeis. As touching our proceeding upon our voyage, it was thought good rather to proceed with two ships wel manned, then with three evill manned: for here wee had of sound and whole men but 198, of which there went in the Penelope with the Admiral 101, and in the Edward with the worshipfull M. captaine Lancaster 97. We left behind 50 men with the Roiall marchant, whereof there were many pretily well recovered, of which ship was master and governour Abraham Kendal, which for many reasons we thought good to send home. The disease that hath consumed our men hath bene the skurvie. Our souldiers which have not bene used to the Sea, have best held out, but our mariners dropt away, which (in my judgement) proceedeth of their evill diet at home.

Sixe dayes after our sending backe for England of the Marchant Roiall from Agoada de Saldanha, our Admirall M. captaine Raimond in the Penelope, and M. James Lancaster in the Edward Bonaventure, set forward to double the Cape of Buona esperansa, which they did very speedily. But being passed as far as Cape dos Corrientes, the 14 of September we were encountred with a mighty storme and extreeme gusts of wind, wherein we lost our Generals companie, and could never heare of him nor his ship any more, though we did our best endevour to seeke him up and downe a long while, and staied for him certaine dayes at the Iland of Comoro, where we appointed to stay one for another. Foure dayes after this uncomfortable seperation in the morning toward ten of the clocke we had a terrible clap of thunder, which slew foure of our men outright, their necks being wrung in sonder without speaking any word, and of 94 men there was not one untouched, whereof some were striken blind, others were bruised in their legs & armes, and others in their brests, so that they voided blood two dayes after, others were drawen out at length as though they had bene racked. But (God be thanked) they all recovered saving

Cape de Buona Speransa doubled.

Cape dos Corrientes.

Here they are severed from the Penelope.

Foure men slaine with a clap of thunder. [II. ii. 104.]

onely the foure which were slaine out right. Also with the same thunder our maine maste was torne very grievously from the head to the decke, and some of the spikes that were ten inches into the timber, were melted with the extreme heate theereof. From thence wee shaped our course to the Northeast, and not long after we fell upon the Northwest end of the mighty Iland of S. Laurence: which one of our men espied by Gods good blessing late in the evening by Moone light, who seeing afarre off the breaking of the Sea, and calling to certaine of his fellowes, asked them what it was: which eftsoones told him that it was the breaking of the Sea upon the Shoulds. Whereupon in very good time we cast about to avoyd the danger which we were like to have incurred. Thus passing on forward, it was our lucke to over-shoote Mozambique, and to fall with a place called Quitangone two leagues to the Northward of it, and we tooke three or foure Barkes of Moores, which Barkes in their language they call Pangaias, laden with Millio, hennes, and ducks, with one Portugall boy, going for the provision of Mozambique. Within few dayes following we came to an Iland an hundred leagues to the Northeast of Mozambique called Comoro, which we found exceeding full of people, which are Moores of tawnie colour and good stature, but they be very trecherous and diligently to be taken heed of. Here wee desired to store our selves with water, whereof we stood in great need, and sent sixteene of our men well armed on shore in our boate: whom the people suffred quietly to land and water, and divers of them with their king came aboord our ship in a gowne of crimosine Sattin pinked after the Moorish fashion downe to the knee, whom we entertained in the best maner, and had some conference with him of the state of the place and marchandises, using our Portugall boy which we had taken before for our interpreter, and in the end licensed the king and his company to depart, and sent our men againe for more water, who then also dispatched their businesse, &

The Shoulds of S. Laurence.

Quitangone neere Mozambique.

The Ile of Comoro.

returned quietly: the third time likewise we sent them for more, which also returned without any harme. And though we thought our selves furnished, yet our master William Mace of Radcliffe pretending that it might be long before we should finde any good watering place, would needes goe himselfe on shore with thirtie men, much against the will of our captaine, and hee and 16 of his company, together with one boat which was all that we had, and 16 others that were a washing over-against our ship, were betrayed of the perfidious Moores, and in our sight for the most part slaine, we being not able for want of a boat to yeeld them any succour. From hence with heavie hearts we shaped our course for Zanzibar the 7 of November, where shortly after wee arrived and made us a new boat of such boards as we had within boord, and rid in the road untill the 15 of February, where, during our aboad, we sawe divers Pangaias or boates, which are pinned with woodden pinnes, and sowed together with Palmito cordes, and calked with the huskes of Cocos shels beaten, whereof they make Occam. At length a Portugal Pangaia comming out of the harborow of Zanzibar, where they have a small Factorie, sent a Canoa with a Moore which had bene christened, who brought us a letter wherein they desired to know what wee were, and what we sought. We sent them word we were Englishmen come from Don Antonio upon businesse to his friends in the Indies: with which answere they returned, and would not any more come at us. Whereupon not long after wee manned out our boat and tooke a Pangaia of the Moores, which had a priest of theirs in it, which in their language they call a Sherife: whom we used very curteously: which the king tooke in very good part, having his priests in great estimation, and for his deliverance furnished us with two moneths victuals, during all which time we detained him with us. These Moores informed us of the false and spitefull dealing of the Portugals towards us, which made them beleeve that we were cruell

32 of our men betraied at the Ile of Comoro.

Zanzibar Iland.

A Portugall Factorie in Zanzibar.

The treason of the Portugals towards the English.

people and men-eaters, and willed them if they loved their safetie in no case to come neere us. Which they did onely to cut us off from all knowledge of the state and traffique of the countrey. While we road from the end of November until the middle of February in this harborough, which is sufficient for a ship of 500 tuns to ride in, we set upon a Portugall Pangaia with our boat, but because it was very litle, & our men not able to stirre in it, we were not able to take the sayd Pangaia, which was armed with 10 good shot like our long fouling pieces. This place for the goodnesse of the harborough and watering, and plentifull refreshing with fish, whereof we tooke great store with our nets, and for sundry sorts of fruits of the countrey, as Cocos and others, which were brought us by the Moores, as also for oxen and hennes, is carefully to be sought for by such of our ships, as shall hereafter passe that way. But our men had need to take good heed of the Portugals: for while we lay here the Portugall Admiral of the coast from Melinde to Mozambique, came to view and to betray our boat if he could have taken at any time advantage, in a gallie Frigate of ten tunnes with 8 or 9 oares on a side. Of the strength of which Frigate and their trecherous meaning we were advertised by an Arabian Moore which came from the king of Zanzibar divers times unto us about the deliverie of the priest aforesayd, and afterward by another which we caried thence along with us: for wheresoever we came, our care was to get into our hands some one or two of the countreys to learne the languages and states of those partes where we touched. Moreover, here againe we had another clap of thunder which did shake our foremast very much, which wee fisht and repaired with timber from the shore, whereof there is good store thereabout of a kind of trees some fortie foot high, which is a red and tough wood, and as I suppose, a kind of Cedar. Here our Surgeon Arnold negligently catching a great heate in his head being on land with the master to seeke oxen, fell sicke and shortly

An excellent place for refreshing.

A gallie Frigate. [II. ii. 105.]

Another thunder-clap.

Heat in the head deadly.

Letting of blood very necessary.

died, which might have bene cured by letting of blood before it had bin setled. Before our departure we had in this place some thousand weight of pitch, or rather a kind of gray and white gumme like unto frankincense, as clammie as turpentine, which in melting groweth as blacke as pitch, and is very brittle of it selfe, but we mingled it with oile, whereof wee had 300 jarres in the prize which we tooke to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, not farre from Guinie, bound for Brasil. Sixe dayes before wee departed hence, the Cape marchant of the Factorie wrote a letter unto our capitaine in the way of friendship, as he pretended, requesting a jarre of wine, and a jarre of oyle, and two or three pounds of gunpouder, which letter hee sent by a Negro his man, and Moore in a Canoa: we sent him his demaunds by the Moore, but tooke the Negro along with us because we understood he had bene in the East Indies and knew somewhat of the countrey. By this Negro we were advertised of a small Barke of some thirtie tunnes (which the Moores call a Junco) which was come from Goa thither laden with Pepper for the Factorie and service of that kingdome. Thus having trimmed our shippe as we lay in this road, in the end we set forward for the coast of the East India, the 15 of February aforesayd, intending if we could to have reached to Cape Comori, which is the headland or Promontorie of the maine of Malavar, and there to have lien off and on for such ships as should have passed from Zeilan, Sant Tome, Bengala, Pegu, Malacca, the Moluccos, the coast of China, and the Ile of Japan, which ships are of exceeding wealth and riches. But in our course we were very much deceived by the currents that set into the gulfe of the Red sea along the coast of Melinde. And the windes shortening upon us to the Northeast and Easterly, kept us that we could not get off, and so with the putting in of the currents from the Westward, set us in further unto the Northward within fourescore leagues of the Ile of Zocotora, farre from our

A Junco laden with pepper and drugs.

The currents set to the Northwards.

Zocotora.

determined course and expectation. But here we never wanted abundance of Dolphins, Bonitos and flying fishes. Now while we found our selves thus farre to the Northward, and the time being so farre spent, we determined to goe for the Red sea, or for the Iland of Zocotora, both to refresh our selves, and also for some purchase. But while wee were in this consultation, the winde very luckily came about to the Northwest and caried us directly toward Cape Comori. Before we should have doubled this Cape, we were determined to touch at the Ilands of Mamale, of which we had advertisement, that one had victuals, standing in the Northerly latitude of twelve degrees. Howbeit it was not our good lucke to finde it, which fell out partly by the obstinacie of our master: for the day before we fell with part of the Ilands the wind came about to the Southwest, and then shifting our course we missed it. So the wind increasing Southerly, we feared we should not have bene able to have doubled the Cape, which would have greatly hazarded our casting away upon the coast of India, the Winter season and Westerne Monsons already being come in, which Monsons continue on that coast until August. Nevertheles it pleased God to bring the wind more Westerly, & so in the moneth of May 1592. we happily doubled Cape Comori without sight of the coast of India. From hence thus having doubled this Cape, we directed our course for the Ilands of Nicubar, which lie North and South with the Westerne part of Sumatra, and in the latitude of 7 degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall. From which Cape of Comori unto the aforesayd Ilands we ranne in sixe dayes with a very large wind though the weather were foule with extreme raine and gustes of windes. These Ilands were missed through our masters default for want of due observation of the South starre. And we fell to the Southward of them within the sight of the Ilands of Gomes Polo, which lie hard upon the great Iland of Sumatra the first of June, and at the Northeast side of

The Iles of Mamale.

Cape Comori doubled 1592.

The Iles of Nicubar.

The Iles of Gomes Polo.

them we lay two or three dayes becalmed, hoping to
Sumatra. have had a Pilote from Sumatra, within two leagues whereof wee lay off and on. Now the Winter comming upon us with much contagious weather, we directed our
The Iles of Pulo Pinaou. course from hence with the Ilands of Pulo Pinaou, (where by the way is to be noted that Pulo in the Malaian tongue signifieth an Iland) at which Ilands wee arrived about the beginning of June, where we came to an anker in a very good harborough betweene three Ilands: at which time our men were very sicke and many fallen. Here we determined to stay untill the
[II. ii. 106.] Winter were overpast. This place is in 6 degrees and a halfe to the Northward, and some five leagues from the maine betweene Malacca and Pegu. Here we continued untill the end of August. Our refreshing in this place was very smal, onely of oisters growing on rocks, great wilks, and some few fish which we tooke with our hookes. Here we landed our sicke men on these uninhabited Ilands for their health, neverthelesse 26 of them died in this place, whereof John Hall our master was one, and M. Rainold Golding another, a marchant of great honestie and much discretion. In
Trees fit for mastes. these Islands are abundance of trees of white wood, so right and tall, that a man may make mastes of them being an hundred foote long. The winter passed and having watered our ship and fitted her to goe to Sea, wee had left us but 33 men and one boy, of which not past 22 were sound for labour and helpe, and of them not past a third part sailers: thence we made saile to seeke some place of refreshing, and went over
Malacca. to the maine of Malacca. The next day we came to an anker in a Baie in six fadomes water some two leagues from the shore. Then master James Lancaster our captaine, and M. Edmund Barker his lieutenant, and other of the companie manning the boat, went on shore to see what inhabitants might be found. And comming on land we found the tracking of some barefooted people which were departed thence not long before: for we

sawe their fire still burning, but people we sawe none, nor any other living creature, save a certaine kind of foule called oxe birds, which are a gray kind of Sea-foule, like a Snite in colour, but not in beake. Of these we killed some eight dozen with haile-shot being very tame, and spending the day in search, returned toward night aboord. The next day about two of the clocke in the afternoone we espied a Canoa which came neere unto us, but would not come aboord us, having in it some sixteen naked Indians, with whom nevertheles going afterward on land, we had friendly conference and promise of victuals. The next day in the morning we espied three ships, being all of burthen 60 or 70 tunnes, one of which wee made to strike with our very boate: and understanding that they were of the towne of Martabam, which is the chiefe haven towne for the great citie of Pegu, and the goods belonging to certaine Portugal Jesuites and a Biscuit baker a Portugal, we tooke that ship & did not force the other two, because they were laden for marchants of Pegu, but having this one at our command, we came together to an anker. The night folowing all the men except twelve, which we tooke into our ship, being most of them borne in Pegu, fled away in their boate, leaving their ship and goods with us. The next day we weighed our anker and went to the Leeward of an Iland hard by, and tooke in her lading being pepper, which shee and the other two had laden at Pera, which is a place on the maine 30 leagues to the South. Besides the aforesaid three ships, we tooke another ship of Pegu laden with pepper, and perceiving her to bee laden with marchants goods of Pegu onely, wee dismissed her without touching any thing.

Three ships of Pegu laden with pepper. Martabam.

Pera.

Thus having staied here 10 daies and discharged her goods into the Edward, which was about the beginning of September, our sicke men being somewhat refreshed and lustie, with such reliefe as we had found in this ship, we weighed anker, determining to runne into the streights of Malacca to the Ilands called Pulo Sambilam,

Pulo Sambilam.

which are some five and fortie leagues Northward of the citie of Malacca, to which Ilands the Portugals must needs come from Goa or S. Thome, for the Malucos, China, and Japan. And when wee were there arrived, we lay too and agayne for such shipping as should come that way. Thus having spent some five dayes, upon a Sunday we espied a saile which was a Portugall ship that came from Negapatan a towne on the maine of India over-against the Northeast part of the Ile of Zeilan; and that night we tooke her being of 250 tunnes: she was laden with Rice for Malacca. Captaine Lancaster commanded their captaine and master aboord our shippe, and sent Edmund Barker his lieutenant and seven more to keepe this prize, who being aboord the same, came to an anker in thirtie fadomes water: for in that chanell three or foure leagues from the shore you shall finde good ankorage. Being thus at an anker and keeping out a light for the Edward, another Portugall ship of Sant Thome of foure hundred tunnes, came and ankered hard by us. The Edward being put to Leeward for lacke of helpe of men to handle her sailes, was not able the next morning to fetch her up, until we which were in the prize with our boate, went to helpe to man our shippe. Then comming aboord we went toward the shippe of Sant Thome, but our ship was so foule that shee escaped us. After we had taken out of our Portugall prize what we thought good, we turned her and all her men away except a Pilot and foure Moores. We continued here untill the sixt of October, at which time we met with the ship of the captaine of Malacca of seven hundred tunnes which came from Goa: we shot at her many shot, and at last shooting her maine-yard through, she came to an anker and yeelded. We commaunded her Captaine, Master, Pilot and Purser to come aboord us. But the Captaine accompanied with one souldier onely came, and after certaine conference with him, he made excuse to fetch the Master and Purser, which he sayd would not come

A ship of Negapatan taken.

A ship of S. Thome.

The galeon of Malacca of 700 taken.

unlesse he went for them: but being gotten from us in the edge of the evening, he with all the people which were to the number of about three hundred men, women and children, gote a shore with two great boates and quite abandoned the ship. At our comming aboord we found in her sixteene pieces of brasse, and three hundred buts of Canarie wine, and Nipar wine, which is made of the palme trees, and raisin wine which is also very strong: as also all kind of Haberdasher wares, as hats, red caps knit of Spanish wooll, worsted stockings knit, shooes, velvets, taffataes, chamlets, and silkes, abundance of suckets, rice, Venice glasses, certaine papers full of false and counterfeit stones which an Italian brought from Venice to deceive the rude Indians withall, abundance of playing cardes, two or three packs of French paper. Whatsoever became of the treasure which usually is brought in roials of plate in this gallion, we could not find it. After that the mariners had disordredly pilled this rich shippe, the Captaine because they would not follow his commandement to unlade those excellent wines into the Edward, abandoned her & let her drive at Sea, taking out of her the choisest things that she had. And doubting the forces of Malaca, we departed thence to a Baie in the kingdom of Junsalaom, which is betweene Malacca and Pegu eight degrees to the Northward, to seeke for pitch to trimme our ship. Here we sent our souldier, which the captaine of the aforesaid galion had left behind him with us, because he had the Malaian language, to deale with the people for pitch, which hee did faithfully, and procured us some two or three quintals with promise of more, and certaine of the people came unto us. We sent commodities to their king to barter for Amber-griese, and for the hornes of Abath, whereof the king onely hath the traffique in his hands. Now this Abath is a beast which hath one horne onely in her forehead, and is thought to be the female Unicorne, and is highly esteemed of all the Moores in those parts as a most soveraigne remedie against poyson. We had

[II. ii. 107.]

Wares fit to cary into the East India.

The kingdom of Junsalaom.

Amber-greese.

The hornes of Abath.

The female Unicorne.

onely two or three of these hornes which are of th colour of a browne gray, and some reasonable quantiti of Amber-griese. At last the king went about to betra our Portugall with our marchandise: but he to get aboor us, told him that we had gilt armour, shirtes of mail and halberds, which things they greatly desire: for hop whereof he let him returne aboord, and so he escaped th danger. Thus we left this coast and went backe again in sight of Sumatra, and thence to the Ilands of Nicubar where we arrived and found them inhabited with Moores and after wee came to an anker, the people daily cam aboord us in their Canoas, with hennes, Cocos, plantan and other fruits: and within two dayes they brough unto us roials of plate, giving us them for Calicut cloth which roials they finde by diving for them in the Sea which were lost not long before in two Portugall ship which were bound for China and were cast away there They call in their language the Coco Calambe, the Plantane Pison, a Hen Jam, a Fish Iccan, a Hog Babee. From thence we returned the 21 of November to goe for the Iland of Zeilan, and arrived there about the third of December 1592. and ankered upon the Southside in sixe fadomes water, where we lost our anker, the place being rockie and foule ground. Then we ranne along the Southwest part of the sayd Iland, to a place called Punta del Galle, where we ankered, determining there to have remained untill the comming of the Bengala Fleet of seven or eight ships, and the Fleete of Pegu of two or three sailes, and the Portugall shippes of Tanaseri being a great Baie to the Southward of Martabam in the kingdom of Siam: which ships, by divers intelligences which we had, were to come that way within foureteene dayes to bring commodities to serve the Caraks, which commonly depart from Cochin for Portugall by the middest of Januarie. The commodities of the shippes which come from Bengala bee fine pavillions for beds, wrought quilts, fine Calicut cloth, Pintados and other fine workes, and Rice, and they make this voiage twise

Some small quantitie hereof may be caried to pleasure those kings.

They arrive at the Iles of Nicubar, which are inhabited by Moores.

They returne homeward.

They arrive at Zeilan.

Tanaseri in the kingdom of Siam.

Commodities of Bengala.

in the yeere. Those of Pegu bring the chiefest stones, as Rubies and Diamants, but their chiefe fraight is Rice and certaine cloth. Those of Tanaseri are chiefly fraighted with Rice and Nipar wine, which is very strong, and in colour like unto rocke water somewhat whitish, and very hote in taste like unto Aqua vitæ. Being shot up to the place aforesayd, called Punta del Galle, wee came to an anker in foule ground and lost the same, and lay all that night a drift, because we had nowe but two ankers left us, which were unstocked and in hold. Whereupon our men tooke occasion to come home, our Captaine at that time lying very sicke more like to die then to live. In the morning wee set our foresaile determining to lie up to the Northward and there to keepe our selves to and againe out of the current, which otherwise would have set us off to the Southward from all knowen land. Thus having set our foresayle, and in hand to set all our other sayles to accomplish our aforesayd determination, our men made answere that they would take their direct course for England and would stay there no longer. Nowe seeing they could not bee perswaded by any meanes possible, the captaine was constrained to give his consent to returne, leaving all hope of so great possibilities. Thus the eight of December 1592. wee set sayle for the Cape of Buona Speransa, passing by the Ilands of Maldiva, and leaving the mightie Iland of S. Laurence on the starreboord or Northward in the latitude of 26 degrees to the South. In our passage over from S. Laurence to the maine we had exceeding great store of Bonitos and Albocores, which are a greater kind of fish: of which our captain, being now recovered of his sicknesse, tooke with an hooke as many in two or three howers as would serve fortie persons a whole day. And this skole of fish continued with our ship for the space of five or sixe weekes, all which while we tooke to the quantitie aforesayd, which was no small refreshing to us. In February 1593. we fell with the Eastermost land of

Commodities of Pegu.

Commodities of Tanaseri.

A great current to the Southward.

[II. ii. 108.]

A notable reliefe of fishes taken

Baia de Agoa. Africa at a place called Baia de Agoa some 100 leagues to the Northeast of the Cape of Good Hope: and finding the winds contrary, we spent a moneth or five weekes before we could double the Cape. After wee had doubled it in March folowing, wee directed our course for the Iland of Santa Helena, and arrived there the third day of Aprill, where wee staied to our great comfort nineteene dayes: in which meane space some one man of us tooke thirtie goodly Congers in one day, and other rockie fishe and some Bonitos. After our arrivall at Santa Helena, I Edmund Barker went on shore with foure or five Peguins or men of Pegu which we had taken, and our Surgion, where in an house by the Chappell I found an Englishman one John Segar of Burie in Suffolke, who was left there eighteene moneths before by Abraham Kendall, who put in there with the Roiall marchant, and left him there to refresh him on the Iland, being otherwise like to have perished on shipboord: and at our comming wee found him as fresh in colour and in as good plight of body to our seeming as might be, but crazed in minde and halfe out of his wits, as afterward wee perceived: for whether he were put in fright of us, not knowing at first what we were, whether friends or foes, or of sudden joy when he understood we were his olde consorts and countreymen, hee became idle-headed, and for eight dayes space neither night nor day tooke any naturall rest, and so at length died for lacke of sleepe. Here two of our men, whereof the one was diseased with the skurvie, and the other had bene nine moneths sicke of the fluxe, in short time while they were on the Iland, recovered their perfect health. We found in this place great store of very holesome and excellent good greene figs, orenges, and lemons very faire, abundance of goates and hogs, and great plentie of partriges, Guiniecocks, and other wilde foules. Our mariners somewhat discontented being now watered and having some provision of fish, contrary to the will of the capitaine, would straight home. The capitaine because

They double the Cape of Buona Speransa.

S. Helena.

John Segar an Englishman left 18 *moneths alone in the Ile of santa Helena.*

A miraculous effect of extreme feare or extreme joy.

The description of the commodities of the ile of santa Helena.

he was desirous to goe for Phernambuc in Brasil, granted their request. And about the 12 of Aprill 1593. we departed from S. Helena, and directed our course for the place aforesayd. The next day our capitaine calling upon the sailers to finish a foresaile which they had in hand, some of them answered that unlesse they might goe directly home, they would lay their hands to nothing; whereupon he was constrained to folow their humour. And from thence-foorth we directed our course for our countrey, which we kept untill we came 8 degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, betweene which 8 degrees and the line, we spent some sixe weekes, with many calme and contrary winds at North, and somtimes to the Eastward, & somtimes to the Westward: which losse of time and expense of our victuals, whereof we had very smal store, made us doubt to keepe our course: and some of our men growing into a mutinie threatned to breake up other mens chests, to the overthrow of our victuals and all our selves, for every man had his share of his victuals before in his owne custody, that they might be sure what to trust to, and husband it more thriftily. Our capitaine seeking to prevent this mischiefe, being advertised by one of our companie which had bene at the Ile of Trinidada in M. Chidleis voyage, that there we should be sure to have refreshing, hereupon directed his course to that Iland, and not knowing the currents, we were put past it in the night into the gulfe of Paria in the beginning of June, wherein we were 8 dayes, finding the current continually setting in, and oftentimes we were in 3 fadomes water, and could find no going out until the current had put us over to the Westernside under the maine land, where we found no current at all, and more deep water; and so keeping by the shore, the wind off the shore every night did helpe us out to the Northward. Being cleare, within foure or five dayes after we fell with the Ile of Mona where we ankred and rode some eighteene dayes. In which time the Indians of Mona gave us some refreshing.

The gulfe of Paria, or Bocca del Dragone passed.

A good note.

The Ile of Mona.

And in the meane space there arrived a French ship of Cane in which was capitaine one Monsieur de Barbaterre, of whom wee bought some two buts of wine and bread, and other victuals. Then wee watered and fitted our shippe, and stopped a great leake which broke on us as we were beating out of the gulfe of Paria. And having thus made ready our ship to goe to Sea, we determined to goe directly for New-found-land. But before wee departed, there arose a storme the winde being Northerly, which put us from an anker and forced us to the Southward of Santo Domingo. This night we were in danger of shipwracke upon an Iland called Savona, which is environed with flats lying 4 or 5 miles off: yet it pleased God to cleare us of them, & so we directed our course Westward along the Iland of Santo Domingo, and doubled Cape Tiberon, and passed through the old chanell betweene S. Domingo and Cuba for the cape of Florida: And here we met againe with the French ship of Caen, whose Captaine could spare us no more victuals, as he said, but only hides which he had taken by traffike upon those Ilands, wherewith we were content and gave him for them to his good satisfaction. After this, passing the Cape of Florida, and cleere of the chanell of Bahama, we directed our course for the banke of Newfound-land. Thus running to the height of 36 degrees, and as farre to the East as the Isle of Bermuda the 17 of September finding the winds there very variable, contrarie to our expectation and all mens writings, we lay there a day or two the winde being northerly, and increasing continually more and more, it grewe to be a storme and a great frete of wind: which continued with us some 24 houres, with such extremitie, as it caried not onely our sayles away being furled, but also made much water in our shippe, so that wee had sixe foote water in holde, and having freed our ship thereof with baling, the winde shifted to the Northwest and became dullerd: but presently upon it the extremitie of the storme was such that with

The Ile of Savona environed with flats.

Cape de Tiberon. [II. ii. 109.]

The old chanel passed.

the labouring of the ship we lost our foremaste, and our ship grewe as full of water as before. The storme once ceased, and the winde contrary to goe our course, we fell to consultation which might be our best way to save our lives. Our victuals now being utterly spent, & having eaten hides 6 or 7 daies, we thought it best to beare back againe for Dominica, & the Islands adjoyning, knowing that there we might have some reliefe, whereupon we turned backe for the said Islands. But before we could get thither the winde scanted upon us, which did greatly endanger us for lacke of fresh water and victuals: so that we were constrained to beare up to the Westward to certaine other Ilandes called the Nueblas or cloudie Ilands, towards the Ile of S. Juan de porto Rico, where at our arrivall we found land-crabs and fresh water, and tortoyses, which come most on lande about the full of the moone. Here having refreshed our selves some 17 or 18 dayes, and having gotten some small store of victuals into our ship, we resolved to returne againe for Mona: upon which our determination five of our men left us, remaining still on the Iles of Nueblas for all perswasions that we could use to the contrary, which afterward came home in an English shippe. From these Iles we departed and arrived at Mona about the twentieth of November 1593, and there comming to an anker toward two or three of the clocke in the morning, the Captaine, and Edmund Barker his Lieuetenant with some few others went on land to the houses of the olde Indian and his three sonnes, thinking to have gotten some foode, our victuals being all spent, and we not able to proceede any further untill we had obteyned some new supply. We spent two or three daies in seeking provision to cary aboord to relieve the whole companie. And comming downe to go aboord, the winde then being northerly and the sea somewhat growne, they could not come on shore with the boate, which was a thing of small succour and not able to rowe in any rough sea, whereupon we stayed untill the next morning, think-

They returne backe to the West Indies.

Five English men left on the Nueblas.

ing to have had lesse winde and safer passage. But in the night about twelve of the clocke our ship did drive away with five men and a boy onely in it, our carpenter secretly cut their owne cable, leaving nineteene of us on land without boate or any thing, to our great discomfort. In the middest of these miseries reposing our trust in the goodnesse of God, which many times before had succoured us in our greatest extremities, we contented our selves with our poore estate, and sought meanes to preserve our lives. And because one place was not able to sustaine us, we tooke our leaves one of another, dividing our selves into severall companies. The greatest reliefe that we sixe which were with the Captaine could finde for the space of nine and twentie dayes was the stalkes of purselaine boyled in water, and nowe and then a pompion, which we found in the garden of the olde Indian, who upon this our second arrivall with his three sonnes stole from us, and kept himselfe continually aloft in the mountaines. After the ende of nine and twentie dayes we espied a French shippe, which afterwarde we understood to be of Diepe, called the Luisa, whose Captaine was one Mounsieur Felix, unto whom wee made a fire, at sight whereof he tooke in his topsayles, bare in with the land, and shewed us his flagge, whereby we judged him French: so comming along to the Westerne ende of the Island there be ankered, we making downe with all speede unto him. At this time the Indian and his three sonnes came done to our Captaine Master James Lancaster, and went along with him to the shippe. This night he went aboord the French man, who gave him good entertainement, and the next day fetched eleven more of us aboord entreating us all very courteously. This day came another French shippe of the same towne of Diepe which remayned there untill night expecting our other seven mens comming downe: who, albeit we caused certaine pieces of ordinance to be shot off to call them, yet came not downe. Whereupon we departed thence, being devided sixe into

The ship lost by driving away.

Great famine.

Two ships of Diepe.

one ship, and sixe into another, and leaving this Island, departed for the Northside of Saint Domingo, where we remained untill Aprill following 1594, and spent some two monethes in traffike with the inhabitants by permission for hides and other marchandises of the Countrey. In this meane while there came a shippe of New-haven to the place where we were, whereby we had intelligence of our seven men which wee left behinde us at the Isle of Mona: which was, that two of them brake their neckes with ventring to take foules upon the cliffes, other three were slaine by the Spaniards, which came from Saint Domingo, upon knowledge given by our men which went away in the Edward, the other two this man of New-haven had with him in his shippe, which escaped the Spaniards bloodie hands. From this place Captaine Lancaster and his Lieutenant Master Edmund Barker, shipped themselves in another shippe of Diepe, the Captaine whereof was one John La Noe, which was readie first to come away, and leaving the rest of their companie in other ships, where they were well intreated, to come after him, on sunday the seventh of Aprill 1594 they set homewarde, and disbocking through the Cajicos from thence arrived safely in Diepe within two and fortie dayes after, on the 19 of May, where after we had stayed two dayes to refresh our selves, and given humble thankes unto God, and unto our friendly neighbours, we tooke passage for Rie and landed there on Friday the 24 of May 1594, having spent in this voyage three yeeres, sixe weekes and two dayes, which the Portugales performe in halfe the time, chiefely because wee lost our fit time and season to set foorth in the beginning of our voyage.

The French trafike to S. Domingo. [II. ii. 110.]

M. Lancaster returneth to Diepe, and so to England.

We understood in the East Indies by certaine Portugales which we tooke, that they have lately discovered the coast of China to the latitude of nine and fiftie degrees, finding the sea still open to the Northward: giving great hope of the Northeast or Northwest passage. Witnesse Master James Lancaster.

Certaine remembrances of an intended voyage to Brasill, and the River of Plate, by the Edward Cotton, a ship of 260 Tunnes of Master Edward Cotton of Southhampton, which perished through extreme negligence neare Rio grande in Guinie, the 17 of July 1583.

ARticles of Covenants agreed upon betweene Edward Cotton Esquier, owner of the good ship called the Edward Cotton of Southhampton, and of all the marchandizes in her laden, of the one part, and William Huddie gentleman, Captaine of the said ship, John Hooper his Lieutenant, John Foster Master, Hugh Smith Pilot for the whole voyage, and William Cheesman marchant, on the other part.

1 TO observe and keepe the dayly order of Common prayer aboord the ship, and the companie to be called thereunto, at the least once in the day, to be pronounced openly.

2 Item, that they be ready with the first faire winde, to set saile and sailes in the voyage, and not to put into any port or harbour, but being forcibly constrained by weather, or other apparant and urgent cause.

3 Item, that they take in, at or about the Isles of Cape Verde, to the quantitie of 25 or 30 tuns of salt, to be imployed among other the owners marchandize, at Santos, and S. Vincent, to his onely behoofe, and the rest of the salt, so much as shall be needed for victuall, and for saving of the hides to be kept aboord, & the same salt to be provided either at the fishermens hands neere the said Isles for trucke of commodities, or els to be taken in at the aforesaid Isles, at the discretion of the abovenamed.

4 Item, upon the due performance of this voiage, the owner bindeth himselfe by this deede, to yeeld unto any

such of the companie, as shall refuse their shares before they depart from the coast of England, 20 markes a single share, for the dutie of the whole voiage, making not above 75. shares single in the whole.

5 Item, the company according as they be appointed by the officers of the said ship above named, shall at all times be most ready to doe their painfull indevor, not onely aboord, but in all labours at the land, according to the direction given by the above named officers, upon paine of forfeiture of their shares and wages, the same to be divided amongst the company.

6 Item, that the shares be taken at their returne out of al the traine oile, and hides of the seales, and of all other commodities gotten by their handie labour, and of the salt that shall be vended and other commodities, at, or neere the coast of Brasill, to allow after 9 li. the tunne freight, whereof one third to goe to the companie.

7 Item, that if any man shall practise by any devise or devises whatsoever, to alter the voiage from the true purpose and intent of the owner, viz. to make their first port at Santos, and Saint Vincent, and there to revictuall and traffike, and from thence to the river of Plate to make their voyage by the traine, and hide of the seales, [II. ii. 111.] with such other commodities as are there to be had, according as the owner, with divers that have government in the said ship, are bound to her highnesse by their deedes obligatorie in great summes, that all such practisers, upon due proofe made, shall loose their whole intertainement due by shares or otherwise for this sayde voyage to be adjudged by the Captaine, his Lieutenant, the Master, Pilot, and marchant, or three of them at the least, whereof the Captaine to be one.

8 Item, that the pinnesse be ready at al times to serve the marchants turne upon his demand, to take in wares and commodities, and to cary and recary to and from the shore, when, and as oft as neede shall be, and to give due attendance at the marchant and marchants direction, during the whole voyage.

9 Item, that no head or chiefe officer being set downe for such an officer under the hand of the owner, at the going to sea of the said shippe, shall or may be displaced from his said place or office, without great cause, and his misdemeanor to be adjudged by the Captaine, and his Lieutenant, the Master, the Pilot, and the marchant, or by the consent of three of them at the least.

10 Item, that upon the returne of the shippe to the coast of England, the Maister and Pilot put not into any port or harbour, to the Westward of Southhampton, but forced by weather, or such like urgent cause.

William Huddie. John Foster.
John Hooper. William Cheesman.
Hugh Smith.

A direction as well for the Captaine, and other my friends of the ship, as especially for William Cheesman Marchant, for the voyage to the river of Plate.

The Isle of S. Sebastian.

AT your comming to the Isle of Saint Sebastian, upon the coast of Brasill, you shall according to your discretions, make sale of such commodities, as you may thinke will be thereabout well vented, and likewise to buy commodities without making longer stay there then your victuals be providing, but rather to bespeake commodities against your returne from the river of Plate, especially of Amber, Sugar, Greene ginger, Cotton wooll, and some quantitie of the peppers of the countrey there. Also for Parats and Munkies, and the beast called Serrabosa. Also you shall barrell up of the beefe called Petune, two or three barrels, and to lose no good oportunitie, to gather of the Indian figges, and the graines of them to preserve drie, in such quantitie as conveniently may be done: and touching the making of the traine, and preserving of the hides, I leave it wholly to the order and the discretion of

the chiefe of the companie. Also that in any road where the ship shall ride upon the coast of America, triall be made with the dragges, for the pearle Oisters, and the same being taken, to be opened and searched for pearle in the presence of the Captaine, his Lieutenant, the Master, the Pilot, and marchant, or three of them, whereof the Captaine or his Lieutenant to be one, and to remaine in the custodie of the Captaine and marchant, under two lockes, either of them to have a key to his owne locke, and that a true inventorie be delivered also to the Master and Pilot of the said pearle or other jewels of price gotten in the said voiage, to the intent that no partie be defrauded of his due, and that no concealment be made of any such thing upon forfeiture, the partie to lose his share and dutie for the voyage that shall so conceale and not reveale it unto the officers above named. Also to doe your best indevour to try for the best Ore of golde, silver, or other rich mettals whatsoever. Forget not also to bring the kernels and seeds of strange plants with you, the Palmito with his fruit inclosed in him. Serve God, keepe good watch, and stand alwayes upon your garde.

Edward Cotton.

These things being thus ordered, and the ship of the burden of 260 tunnes, with 83 men of all sortes furnished, and fully appointed for the voyage, began to set saile from Hurst Castle upon Friday the 20 of May, Anno 1583, and the 17 day of July ensuing fell with the coast of Guinie, to take in fresh water, where, through meere dissolute negligence, she perished upon a sand, with the most part of the men in her, as appeareth by the confession of one that escaped, the substance and tenor whereof is this.

[The confession

[II. ii. 112.] The confession of William Bends Masters Mate in the Edward Cotton, the 21 of October, Ann. 1584.

HE sayth, that the 17 day of July, Anno 1583. having some lacke of fresh water, they put roome upon the coast of Guinie, where they were set upon a sand about 8 leagues from the shore, and this Examinate, with 29 more, got into the pinnesse, who arrived in an Island, being desolate of people, and five miles in compasse, where they rested 18 dayes through force of weather, having nought to eate but grasse. The rest of the company the ship being splitted in two, and in quarters, got them into one of the after quarters, and by the helpe of raftes came also a shore into another Island neere to Rio grande, where they all died as he supposeth.

Rio grande.

The other 30 in the pinnesse, at the end of 18 dayes, departed that Island, and came to Saint Domingo, where comming on shore, they were taken of the Moores, & stripped naked. And they buried one Coxe an olde man alive, notwithstanding his pitifull lamentation and skrikings: the rest having Rice and water allowed them, lived there a certaine time. This Examinate was at last sold to a Portugall, with whom he dwelt the space of a quarter of a yere, and in the end, a Portugall Caravel comming thither, his master laded the same with Negroes, and he obtained leave of his master to goe in the same Caravell, & by that meanes arrived at Lisbone, and from thence came into England the 17 of October, 1584, leaving behinde him of his companie alive, Richard Hacker, John Baker, John Mathew, and a boy, with two others which were gone beyond Saint Domingo: all which, as he saith, were so sicke and diseased, that he judgeth them to be long before this time dead.

One Coxe an old English man buried alive by the Moores of Rio grande in Guinea.

The escape of the Primrose a tall ship of London, from before the towne of Bilbao in Biscay: which ship the Corrigidor of the same Province, accompanied with 97 Spaniards, offered violently to arrest, and was defeated of his purpose, and brought prisoner into England.

Whereunto is added the Kings Commission for a generall imbargment or arrest of all English, Netherlandish, and Easterlings ships, written in Barcelona the 19 of May 1585.



T is not unknowen unto the world what danger our English shippes have lately escaped, how sharpely they have beene intreated, and howe hardly they have beene assaulted: so that the valiancie of those that mannaged them is worthy remembrance. And therefore in respect of the couragious attempt and valiant enterprise of the ship called the Primrose of London, which hath obteined renowne, I have taken in hande to publish the trueth thereof, to the intent that it may be generally knowen to the rest of the English ships, that by the good example of this the rest may in time of extremitie adventure to doe the like: to the honour of the Realme, and the perpetuall remembrance of themselves: The maner whereof was as followeth.

UPon Wednesday being the sixe and twentieth day of May 1585, the shippe called the Primrose being of one hundred and fiftie tunnes, lying without the bay of Bilbao, having beene there two dayes, there came a Spanish pinnesse to them, wherein was the Corrigidor and sixe others with him: these came aboord the Primrose, seeming to be Marchantes of Biscay, or such like, bringing Cherries with them, and spake very friendly to the Maister of the ship, whose name was Foster, and

he in courteous wise bad them welcome, making them the best cheere that he could with beere, beefe, and bisket, wherewith that ship was well furnished: and while they were thus in banquetting with the Maister, foure of the seven departed in the sayd Pinnesse, and went backe againe to Bilbao: the other three stayed, and were very pleasant for the time. But Master Foster misdoubting some danger secretly gave speech that he was doubtfull of these men what their intent was; neverthelesse he sayd nothing, nor seemed in any outward wise to mistrust them at all. Foorthwith there came a ship-boate wherein were seventie persons being Marchants and such like of Biscay: and besides this boate, there came also the Pinnesse which before had brought the other three, in which Pinnesse there came foure and twentie, as the Spaniards themselves since con-
[II. ii. 113.] fessed. These made towards the Primrose, and being come thither, there came aboord the Corrigidor with three or foure of his men: but Master Foster seeing this great multitude desired that there might no more come aboord, but that the rest should stay in their boates, which was granted: neverthelesse they tooke small heede of these wordes; for on a suddaine they came foorth of the boate, entring the shippe, every Spaniarde taking him to his Rapier which they brought in the boate, with other weapons, and a drumme wherewith to triumph over them. Thus did the Spaniards enter the shippe, plunging in fiercely upon them, some planting themselves under the decke, some entring the Cabbens, and a multitude attending their pray. Then the Corrigidor having an officer with him which bare a white wand in his hand, sayd to the master of the ship: Yeeld your selfe, for you are the kings prisoner: whereat the Maister sayd to his men, We are betrayed. Then some of them set daggers to his breast, and seemed in furious manner as though they would have slaine him, meaning nothing lesse then to doe any such act, for all that they sought was to bring him and his men safe alive to shore.

Whereat the Maister was amazed, and his men greatly discomfited to see themselves readie to be conveyed even to the slaughter: notwithstanding some of them respecting the daunger of the Maister, and seeing how with themselves there was no way but present death if they were once landed among the Spaniards, they resolved themselves eyther to defend the Maister, and generally to shunne that daunger, or else to die and be buried in the middest of the sea, rather then to suffer themselves to come into the tormentors hands: and therefore in very bold and manly sort some tooke them to their javelings, lances, bore-speares, and shot, which they had set in readinesse before, and having five Calievers readie charged, which was all the small shot they had, those that were under the hatches or the grate did shoote up at the Spaniards that were over their heads, which shot so amazed the Spaniards on the suddaine, as they could hardly tell which way to escape the daunger, fearing this their small shot to be of greater number then it was: others in very manlike sort dealt about among them, shewing themselves of that courage with bore-speares and lances, that they dismayed at every stroke two or three Spaniards. Then some of them desired the Maister to commaund his men to cease and holde their handes, but hee answered that such was the courage of the English Nation in defence of their owne lives, that they would slay them and him also: and therefore it lay not in him to doe it. Now did their blood runne about the ship in great quantitie, some of them being shot in betweene the legges, the bullets issuing foorth at their breasts, some cut in the head, some thrust into the bodie, and many of them very sore wounded, so that they came not so fast in on the one side, but now they tumbled as fast over boord on both sides with their weapons in their handes, some falling into the sea, and some getting into their boates, making haste towardes the Citie. And this is to be noted, that although they came very thicke thither, there returned

but a small companie of them, neither is it knowen as yet how many of them were slaine or drowned, onely one English man was then slaine, whose name was John Tristram, and sixe other hurt. It was great pitie to behold how the Spaniards lay swimming in the sea, and were not able to save their lives. Foure of them taking holde of the shippe were for pities sake taken up againe by Maister Foster and his men, not knowing what they were: all the Spaniards bosomes were stuft with paper, to defend them from the shot, and these foure having some wounds were drest by the surgion of the shippe. One of them was the Corrigidor himselfe, who is governour of a hundred Townes and Cities in Spaine, his living by his office being better then sixe hundred pound yerely. This skirmish happened in the evening about sixe of the clocke, after they had laden twentie Tunne of goods and better out of the sayd ship: which goods were delivered by two of the same ship, whose names were John Burrell, and John Brodbanke, who being on shore were apprehended and stayed.

The Corrigidor of Bilbao taken and brought to London.

After this valiant enterprise of eight and twentie English men against 97 Spaniardes, they saw it was in vaine for them to stay and therefore set up sayles, and by Gods providence avoyded all danger, brought home the rest of their goods, and came thence with all expedition: and (God be thanked) arrived safely in England neere London on Wednesday being the 8 day of June, 1585. In which their returne to England the Spaniards that they brought with them offered five hundred crownes to be set on shore in any place: which, seeing the Maister would not doe, they were content to be ruled by him and his companie, and craved mercie at their hands. And after Master Foster demaunded why they came in such sort to betray and destroy them, the Corrigidor answered, that it was not done onely of themselves, but by the commandement of the king himselfe; and calling for his hose which were wet, did plucke foorth the kings

Commission, by which he was authorized to doe all that he did: The Copie whereof followeth, being translated out of Spanish.

The Spanish kings commission for the generall imbargment or arrest of the English, &c. [II. ii. 114.]

LIcentiat de Escober, my Corigidor of my Signorie of Biskay, I have caused a great fleete to be put in readinesse in the haven of Lisbone, and the river of Sivill. There is required for the Souldiers, armour, victuals, and munition, that are to bee imployed in the same great store of shipping of all sortes against the time of service, and to the end there may be choise made of the best, upon knowledge of their burden and goodnesse; I doe therefore require you, that presently upon the arrivall of this carrier, and with as much dissimulation as may be (that the matter may not be knowen untill it be put in execution) you take order for the staying and arresting (with great foresight) of all the shipping that may be found upon the coast, and in the portes of the sayd Signorie, excepting none of Holand, Zeland, Easterland, Germanie, England, and other Provinces that are in rebellion against mee, saving those of France which being litle, and of small burden and weake, are thought unfit to serve the turne. And the stay being thus made, you shall have a speciall care that such marchandize as the sayd shippes or hulkes have brought, whether they be all or part unladen, may bee taken out, and that the armour, munition, tackels, sayles, and victuals may be safely bestowed, as also that it may be well foreseene, that none of the shippes or men may escape away. Which things being thus executed, you shall advertise me by an expresse messenger, of your proceeding therein: And send me a plaine and distinct declaration of the number of ships that you shall have so stayed in that coast and partes, whence every one of them is, which belong to my Rebels, what burthen & goods there are, and what number of men

is in every of them, and what quantitie they have of armour, ordinance, munition, victuals, tacklings and other necessaries, to the end that upon sight hereof, having made choise of such as shall be fit for the service, we may further direct you what ye shall do. In the meane time you shall presently see this my commandement put in execution, and if there come thither any more ships, you shall also cause them to be stayed and arrested after the same order, using therein such care and diligence, as may answere the trust that I repose in you, wherein you shall doe me great service. Dated at Barcelona the 29 of May. 1585.

And thus have you heard the trueth and manner thereof, wherein is to be noted the great courage of the maister, and the loving hearts of the servants to save their master from the daunger of death: yea, and the care which the master had to save so much of the owners goods as hee might, although by the same the greatest is his owne losse in that he may never travell to those parts any more without the losse of his owne life, nor yet any of his servantes: for if hereafter they should, being knowen they are like to taste of the sharpe torments which are there accustomed in their Holy-house. And as for their terming English shippes to be in rebellion against them, it is sufficiently knowen by themselves, and their owne consciences can not denie it, but that with love, unitie, and concord, our shippes have ever beene favourable unto them, and as willing to pleasure their King, as his subjectes any way willing to pleasure English passengers.

The Letters patents or priviledges granted by her Majestie to certaine Noble men and Marchants of London, for a trade to Barbarie, in the yeere 1585.



Lizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the Treasurer & Barons of our Eschequer, and to al Maiors, shirifs, constables, customers, collectors of our customes and subsidies, controllers, searchers, and keepers of our havens and creekes, ports and passages, within this our realme of England and the dominions of the same, and to al our officers, ministers and subjects, and to all other whosoever to whom it shall or may appertaine, and to every of them greeting. Whereas it is made evidently and apparantly knowen unto us, that of late yeeres our right trustie and right welbeloved councellors, Ambrose Erle of Warwike, and Robert Erle of Leicester, and also our loving and naturall subjects, Thomas Starkie of our citie of London Alderman, Jerard Gore the elder, and all his sonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Avenon, Richard Staper, William Jennings, Arthur Dawbeney, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthony Garrard, Robert How, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, John Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliver Stile, William Bond, Henrie Farrington, John Tedcastle, Walter [II. ii. 115.] Williams, William Brune, John Suzan, John Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Washborne, Reinold Guy, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lydiat, John Cartwright, Henry Paiton, John Boldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthonie Dassell, Augustine Lane, Robert Lion, and Thomas Dod, all of London, Marchants now trading into the Countrey of Barbary, in the parts of Africa, under the government of Muly Hammet Sheriffe, Em-

peror of Marocco, and king of Fesse and Sus, ha sustained great and grievous losses, and are like sustaine greater if it should not be prevented: In ten consideration whereof, and for that divers Marchand of the same Countries are very necessary and conveni for the use and defence of this our Realme of Engla and for divers other causes us specially moving, mindi the reliefe and benefite of our said subjects, and the qu trafique and good government to be had, and us among them in their said trade, of our speciall gra certaine knowledge, and meere motion have given a granted, and by these presents for us, our heires a successors, doe give and grant unto the saide Earles Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, Jerard Gc the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Aveno Richard Staper, William Jennings, Arthur Dawben William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Gerrar Robert Howe, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, Jol Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nichol Stile, Oliver Stile, William Bond, Henry Farrington, Jol Tedcastle, Walter Williams, William Brune, John Suza John Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afild, Robert Wasl borne, Rainold Guie, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lidiat John Cartwright, Henry Payton, John Baldroe, Robe Bowyer, Anthony Dassell, Augustine Lane, Robert Lio and Thomas Dod, that they and every of them by then selves or by their factors or servants, and none other shall and may, for, and during the space of 12. yeere have and enjoy the whole freedome and libertie in th saide trafique or trade, unto or from the said countrey c Barbary, or to or from any part thereof, for the buyin and selling of all maner of wares and marchandizes what soever, that now or accustomably heretofore have ben brought or transported, from, or to the said country c Barbary, or from or to any of the cities, townes, place ports, roades, havens, harbors or creeks of the said countr of Barbary, any law, statute, graunt, matter, customes c privileges, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And for the better establishing, ordering and governing of the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, &c. abovesaid, their factors, servants and assignes in the trade aforesaid, we for us our heires and successors, doe by these presents give and graunt full licence to the saide Thomas Starkie, Jerard Gore the elder, and the rest aforesaide, and to every of them from time to time, during the said terme of twelve yeres, at their pleasures to assemble and meete together in any place or places convenient within our citie of London, or elsewhere, to consult of, and for the said trade, and with the consent of the said Erle of Leicester, to make and establish good and necessary orders and ordinances, for, and touching the same, and al such orders and ordinances so made, to put in ure and execute, and them or any of them with the consent of the said Erle of Leicester, to alter, change and make voyde, and if need be, to make new, as at any time during the saide terme, they or the most part of them then living and trading, shall finde convenient.

Provided alwayes, that the ordinances or any of them bee not contrary or repugnant to the lawes, statutes or customes of this our Realme of England. And to the intent that they onely to whom the said libertie of trafique is graunted by these our Letters patents, and none other our Subjects whatsoever, without their special consent and licence before had, should during the said terme have trade or trafique for any maner of Marchandizes, to, or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any Citie, towne, place, port, harbor or creeke within the said countrey of Barbary, to, or out of our said Realmes and dominions, wee doe by these presents straightly charge, commaund, and prohibite all and every our Subjects whatsoever, other then only the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, and the rest abovesaid, and every of them by themselves, or by their Factors or servants during the saide terme, to trade or trafique, for or with any marchandize, to, or from the

saide Countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any the dominions of the same, as they tender our favour, and will avoyde our high displeasure, and upon paine of imprisonment of his and their bodies, at our will and pleasure, and of forfeiting all the marchandizes, or the full value thereof, wherewith they or any of them during the saide terme, shall trade or trafique to or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to, or from the dominions of the same, contrary to this our privilege and prohibition, unlesse it be by and with the expresse licence, consent, and agreement of the saide Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, Jerard Gore the elder, and all his sonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Avenon, Richard Straper, William Jennings, Arthur Dawbnie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Gerrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, John Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliver Stile, [II. ii. 116.] William Bond, Henry Farington, John Tedcastle, Walter Williams, William Brune, John Suzan, John Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Washborne, Rainold Guy, Thomas Hitchcock, George Lidiate, &c. or by, and with the expresse licence and consent of the more part of them then living and trading, first had and obtained, so alwayes, that the sayd Earle of Leicester be one, if hee bee living.

And we further for us our heires and successors of our speciall grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, do graunt to the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, and the rest abovesaid, and to every of them, that nothing shall be done, to be of force or validitie touching the said trade or trafique, or the exercise thereof, without or against the consent of the saide Erles, Thomas Starkie, (and the others before named) during the time of these our Letters patents for 12. yeeres as aforesaid.

And for that the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and every of them aforesaid should not be prevented or in-

terrupted in this their said trade, we do by these presents for us, our heires and successours, straightly prohibite and forbid all maner of person or persons, as well strangers of what nation or countrey soever, as our owne Subjects, other then onely the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and every of them as aforesaid, that they nor any of them from hencefoorth during the said terme of 12. yeeres, do or shall bring, or cause to be brought into this our Realme of England, or to any the dominions thereof, any maner of marchandizes whatsoever growing, or being made within the said Countrey of Barbary, or within any the dominions thereof, unlesse it be by and with the licence, consent and agreement of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or with the consent and licence of the more part of them then living, first had and obtained, so alwayes y^t^ the sayd Erle of Leicester (if hee be living) be one, under the paine that every one that shall offend or doe against this our present prohibition here last above mentioned in these presents, shall forfeite and lose all and singular the said marchandizes to be landed in any our realmes and dominions, contrary to the tenor and true meaning of this our prohibition in that behalfe provided: the one moitie of all and every which said forfaitures whatsoever mentioned or specified in these our present Letters patents, shalbe to us our heires & successors: And the other moity of al and every the said forfaitures, we doe by these presents of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, clearely and wholy for us, our heires and successors, give and graunt unto the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. And these our Letters patents, upon the onely sight thereof, without any further warrant, shal bee sufficient authoritie to our Treasurer of England for the time being, to our Barons of the Exchequer, and to all other our officers that shall have to deale in this behalfe, to make full allowance unto the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. their deputies or assignes of the one moitie of all and singular the goods, marchandizes and things

whatsoever mentioned in these our present Letters patents, to be forfaited at any time or times during the said terme of twelve yeres: which said allowance we doe straightly charge and commaund from time to time to be made to the sayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and to every of them accordingly, without any maner of delay or deniall of any of our officers whatsoever, as they tender our favour and the furtherance of our good pleasure. And wee doe straightly charge and commaund, and by these presents prohibite all and singular Customers and Collectors of our customes & subsidies, and comptrollers of the same, of, and within our Citie and port of London, and all other portes, creekes, & places within this our Realme of England, and every of them, that they ne any of them take or perceive, or cause, or suffer to be taken, received, or perceived for us & in our name, or to our use, or to ye uses of our heires or successors of any person or persons, any sum or summes of money, or other things whatsoever during the said terme of 12. yeres, for, and in the name & liew or place of any custome, subsidy & other thing or duties to us, our heires or successors due or to be due for the customes & subsidies of any marchandizes whatsoever growing, being made or comming out of the said countrey of Barbary, or out of the dominions thereof, nor make, cause, nor suffer to be made any entrie into our or their books of customs & subsidies, nor make any agreement for the subsidies and customs, of, and for any the said marchants, saving onely with, & in the name of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or the most part of them, as they and every of them will answere at their uttermost perils to the contrary. And for the better and more sure observation of this our graunt, wee will, and grant for us our heires & successors by these presents, that the Treasurer & barons of our Exchequer for the time being, by force of this our graunt or enrolment thereof in the said court, at al & every time & times during the said terme of 12.

yeres, at & upon request made unto them by the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or by the atturneis, factors, deputies or assignes of them, or the most part of them then living and trading, shall and may make & direct under the seale of the said Exchequer, one or moe sufficient writ or writs, close or patents, unto every or any of our said customers, collectors or controllers of our heires and successors in all and every, or to any port or ports, creeke, haven, or other places within this our realme of England, as the said Erles, Thomas [II. ii. 117.] Starkie, &c. or any the atturneis, factors, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then living and trading, shall at any time require, commaunding and straightly charging them and every of them, that they nor any of them at any time or times during the said terme of 12. yeeres, make any entrie of any wares or marchandizes whatsoever, growing, being made or comming out or from the said countrey of Barbary, or the dominions thereof, nor receive or take any custome, subsidie or other entrie, or make any agreement for the same, other then with or in the name of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. the factor or factors, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then living and trading, according to this our graunt, and the true meaning thereof, and according to our saide will and pleasure before in these presents declared. In witnesse whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the 5. day of July in the 27. yeere of our reigne.

[The Ambassage

The Ambassage of Master Henry Roberts, one of the sworne Esquires of her Majesties person, from her highnesse to Mully Hamet Emperour of Marocco and the King of Fesse, and Sus, in the yeere 1585: who remained there as Liger for the space of 3. yeeres. Written briefly by himselfe.



Pon an incorporation granted to the Company of Barbary Marchants resident in London, I Henry Roberts one of her Majesties sworne Esquires of her person, was appointed her highnesse messenger, and Agent unto the aforesaid Mully Hamet Emperor of Marocco, king of Fesse, and Sus. And after I had received my Commission, instructions, and her Majesties letters, I departed from London the 14. of August in the yeere 1585. in a tall ship called the Ascension, in the company of the Minion and Hopewell, and we all arrived in safetie at Azafi a port of Barbary, the 14. of September next following. The Alcaide of the towne (being the kings officer there, and as it were Maior of the place) received mee with all humanitie and honour, according to the custome of the Countrey, lodging me in the chiefest house of the towne, from whence I dispatched a messenger (which in their language they call a Trottero) to advertise the Emperour of my arrivall: who immediatly gave order, and sent certaine souldiers for my guard and conduct, and horses for my selfe, and mules for mine owne and my companies carriages. Thus being accompanied with M. Richard Evans, Edward Salcot, and other English Marchants resident there in the Countrey, with my traine of Moores and carriages, I came at length to the river of Tensist, which is within foure miles of Marocco: and there by the water side I pitched my tents under the Olive trees: where I met

with all the English Marchants by themselves, and the French and Flemish, and divers other Christians, which attended my comming. And after we had dined, & spent out the heat of the day, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we all set forward toward the Citie of Marocco, where we arrived the said day, being the 14. of September, and I was lodged by the Emperours appointment in a faire house in the Judaria or Jurie, which is the place where the Jewes have their abode, and is the fairest place, and quietest lodging in all the Citie.

After I had reposed my selfe 3. dayes, I had accesse to the kings presence, delivered my message and her Majesties letters, and was received with all humanitie, and had favourable audience from time to time for three yeeres: during which space I abode there in his Court, as her Majesties Agent and Ligier: and whensoever I had occasion of businesse I was admitted either to his Majestie himselfe, or to his vice Roy, whose name was Alcayde Breme Saphiana, a very wise and discreet person, and the chiefest about his Majestie. The particulers of my service, for divers good and reasonable causes, I forbeare here to put downe in writing.

After leave obtained, and an honourable reward bestowed by the Emperour upon me, I departed from his Court at Marocco the 18. of August 1588. toward a garden of his, which is called Shersbonare, where he promised mee I should stay but one day for his letters: howbeit, upon some occasion I was stayed until the 14. of September at the kings charges, with 40. or 50. shot attending upon me for my guard and safetie.

From thence at length I was conducted with all things necessary to the port of Santa Cruz, being sixe dayes journey from Marocco, and the place where our shippes do commonly take in their lading, where I arrived the 21. of the same moneth. In this port I stayed 43. dayes, and at length the second of November I embarqued my selfe, and one Marshok Reiz a Captaine and

a Gentleman, which the Emperour sent with mee upon an Ambassage to her Majestie: and after much torment and foule weather at Sea, yet New-yeres day I came on land at S. Ives in Cornwall, from whence passing by land both together up towards London, we were met [II. ii. 118.] without the citie with the chiefest marchants of the Barbary Company, well mounted all on horsebacke, to the number of 40. or 50. horse, and so the Ambassadour and my selfe being both in Coche, entred the citie by torchlight, on Sunday at night the 12. of January 1589.

Este es un traslado bien y fielmente sacado da una carta real del Rey Muley Hamet de Fes y Emperador de Marruecos, cuyo tenor es este, que Segue.



On el nombre de Dios piadoso y misericordioso, &c. El siervo de Dios soberano, el conquistador per su causa, el successor ensalçado por Dios, Emperador de los Moros, hijo del Emperador de los Moros, Jariffe, Haceni, el que perpetue su honra, y ensalçe su estado. Se pone este nuestro real mandado en manos de los criados de nuestras altas puertas los mercadores Yngleses; para que por el sepan todos los que la presente vieren, come nuestro alto Conseio les anpara con el favor de Dios de todo aquello, que les enpeciere y dannare en qualquiera manera, que fueren offendidos, y en qualquiera viaie, que fueren, ninguno les captivarà en estos nuestros reynos, y puertos, y lugares, que a nos pertenescen: y que les cubre el anporo de nuestro podor de qualquiera fatiga; y ningun los impida con mano de enemistad, ni se darà causa, de que se agravien en qualquiera manera con el favor de Dios y de su amparo. Y mandamos à los Alcaydes de los nuestros puertos y fortalezas, y à los que en estos nuestros reynos tienen cargo, y à toda la gente commun, que no les alleguen en ninguna manera,

con orden, de que sean offendidos en ninguna manera; y esto serà necessariamente: Que es escrita en los medios dias de Rabel, segundo anno de nueve çientos, y noventa y seys.

Concorda el dia d'esta carta con veynte dias de Março del anno de mil y quiniento y ochenta y siete, lo qual yo Abdel Rahman el Catan, interprete per su Magestad saquè, y romançe de verbo ad verbum, como en el se contiene, y en Fee dello firmo de my nombre, fecho ut supra.

Abdel Rahman el Catan.

This is a copy well and truely translated of an edict of Muley Hamet king of Fez and Emperour of Marocco, whose tenor is as followeth: to wit, that no Englishmen should be molested or made slaves in any part of his Dominions, obtained by the aforesaid M. Henry Roberts.

The same in English.

IN the Name of the pitifull and the mercifull God, &c. The servant of the supreme God, the conqueror in his cause, the successor advanced by God, the Emperour of the Moores, the sonne of the Emperour of the Moores, the Jariffe, the Haçeny, whose honour God long increase and advance his estate. This our princely commandement is delivered into the hands of the English marchants, which remaine in the protection of our stately palaces: to the ende that all men which shall see this present writing, may understand that our princely counsaile wil defend them by the favor of God, from any thing that may impeach or hurt them in what sort soever they shalbe wronged: and that, which way soever they shall travaile, no man shall take them captives in these our kingdomes, ports, and places which belong unto us, which also may protect and defend them by our

authoritie from any molestation whatsoever: and that no man shall hinder them by laying violent hand upon them, and shall not give occasion that they may be grieved in any sort by the favour and assistance of God. And we charge and command our officers of our havens and fortresses, and all such as beare any authoritie in these our dominions, and likewise all the common people, that in no wise they do molest them, in such sort that they be no way offended or wronged. And this our commandement shall remaine inviolable, being registred in the middest of the moneth of Rabel in the yeere 996.

The date of this letter agreeth with the 20. of March 1587. which I Abdel Rahman el Catan, interpretour for his Majestie, have translated and turned out of the Arabian into Spanish word for word as is conteined therein: and in witnesse thereof have subscribed my name as aforesaid.

Abdel Rahman el Catan.

En nombre de Dios el piadoso piadador.

Oracion de Dios sobre nuestro Sennor y Propheta Mahumet, y los allegados à el.

A letter of Mully Hamet to the Erle of Leicester.

EL siervo de Dios, y muy guerrero, y ensalsado por la graçia de Dios, Myra Momanyn, hijo de Myra Momanyn, nieto de Myra Momanyn, el Jarif, el Hazeny, que Dios sustenga sus reynos, y enhalse sus mandados, para el Sennor muy affamado y muy illustre, muy estimado, el Conde de Leycester, despues de dar las loores
[II. ii. 119.] devidas à Dios, y las oraçiones, y saludes devidas à le Propheta Mahumet. Servirà esta por os hazer saber que llegò a qui à nuestrà real Corte vuestra carta, y entendimos lo que en ella se contiene. Y vuestro Ambaxador, que aqui està en nuestra corte me dio à entender la causa de la tardança de los rehenes hasta agora: el qual

descuento reçebimos, y nos damos por satisfechos. Y quanta à lo que à nos escriveys por causa de Juan Herman, y lo mesmo que nos ha dicho el Ambaxador sobre el, antes que llegasse vuestra carta por la quexa del ambaxador, que se avia quexado del, ya aviamos mandado prender lo, y assi que da aora preso, y quedera, hasta que se le haga la justicia que mas se le ha de hazer. Y con tanto nuestro Sennor os tenga en su guardia. Hecha en nuestra corte real en Marruecos, que Dios sostenga, el 28. dias del mes de Remodan anno 996.

In the Name of the mercifull and pitifull God.

The blessing of God light upon our lord and prophet Mahumet, and those that are obedient unto him.

THE servant of God both mightie in warre and mightily exalted by the grace of God Myra Momanyn, the son of Myra Momanyn, the Jariff, the Hazeni, whose kingdoms God maintaine and advance his authoritie: Unto the right famous, right noble, & right highly esteemed Erle of Leicester, after due praises given unto God, & due blessings and salutations rendred unto the prophet Mahumet. These are to give you to understand, that your letters arrived here in our royal Court, and we wel perceive the contents thereof. And your Ambassador which remaineth here in our Court told me the cause of the slownesse of the gages or pledges until this time: which reckoning we accept of, and holde our selves as satisfied. And as touching the matter wherof you write unto us concerning John Herman, and the selfe same complaint which your Ambassador hath made of him, before the comming of your letter, we had already commaunded him to be taken upon the complaint which your Ambassadour had made of him, whereupon he stil remaineth in hold, and shal so continue until further justice be done upon him accord-

ing to his desert. And so our Lord keepe you in his safegard. Written at our royall court in Marocco, which God maintaine, the 20. day of the moneth Remodan, Anno ‖ 996.

‖ *Which is with us* 1587.

The Queenes Majesties letters to the Emperour of Marocco.

The Queenes letters to the Emperour.

MUy alto, y muy poderoso Sennor,

Aviendo entendido de parte de nuestro Agente la mucha aficion, y volontad, que nos teneys, y quanta honra, y favor le hazeys por amor nuestro, para dar nos tanto mayor testimonio de vuestra amistad, hemos recebido de lo uno y de lo otro muy grande contento, y satisfacion: y assy no podemos dexar de agradesceroslo, como mereceys. Vuestras cartas hemos tambien recibido, y con ellas holgadonos infinitamente, por venir de parte de un Principe, à quien tenemos tanta obligacion. Nuestro Agente nos ha escripto sobre ciertas cosas, que desseays ser os embiadas de aqui: Y, aunque queriamos poder os en ello puntualmente complazer, como pidiz, ha succedido, que las guerras, en que stamos al presente occupadas, no nos lo consienten del todo: Hemos però mandado, que se os satisfaga en parte, y conforme à lo que por agora la necessitad nos permite, como mas particularmente os lo declararà nuestro Agente: esperando, que lo reciberreys en buena parte y conforme al animo, con que os lo concedemos. Y porque nos ha sido referido, que aveys prometido de proceder contra un Juan Herman vassallo nuestro, (el qual nos ha gravemente offendido) de la manera, que os lo demandaremos, avemos dado orden à nuestro dicho Agente de deziros mas parcularmente lo que desseamos ser hecho a cerca deste negocio, rogando os, que lo mandeys assi complir: y que seays servido de favorescer siempre al dicho Agente, y tener lo en buen credito, como hasta agora aveys hecho, sin permiter, que nadie os haga mudar

de parecer a cerca de las calumnias, que le podran levantar, ny dudar, que no complamos muy por entero todo, lo que de nuestra parte os prometiere. Nuestro Sennor guarde vostra muy alta y muy poderosa persona. Hecha en nuestra Corte Real de Grenewich a 20. de Julio 1587.

The same in English.

RIght high and mightie Prince, Having understood from our Agent the great affection and good wil which you beare us, and how great honour and favor you shew him for our sake, to the end to give us more ample testimonie of your friendship, we have received very great contentment & satisfaction, aswel of the one as of the other: and withall we could not omit to magnifie you, according to your desert. We have also received your letters, and do not a litle rejoyce thereof, because they come from a prince unto whom we are so much beholden. Our Agent hath written unto us concerning certaine things which you desire to bee sent unto you from hence. And albeit we wish that we could particularly satisfie you, as you desire, yet it is fallen out, that the warres, wherin at this present we be busied, wil not suffer us fully to doe the same: neverthelesse, wee have commaunded to satisfie you in part, and [II. ii. 120.] according as the present necessitie doeth permit us, as our Agent will declare unto you more particularly, hoping you will receive it in good part, and according to the good will wherewith wee graunt the same. And because it hath bene signified unto us that you have promised to proceed in justice against one John Herman *John Herman an English rebel.* our subject, which hath grievously offended us, in such sort as wee have sent word unto you, wee have given order to our said Agent to informe you more particularly in that which we desire to be done in this busines, praying you also to command the same to be

put in execution: and that it would please you alwayes to favour our said Agent and to hold him in good credite, as you have done hitherto, not suffering your selfe to be changed in your opinion, for all the false reports which they may raise against him, nor to doubt that wee will not accomplish at large all that he shall promise you on our behalfe. Our Lord keepe and preserve your right high and mightie person. Written in our royall Court at Greenwich the 20. of July 1587.

A voyage to the Azores with two pinases, the one called the Serpent, and the other the Mary Sparke of Plimouth, both of them belonging to Sir Walter Ralegh, written by John Evesham Gentleman, wherein were taken the governour, of the Isle of Sainct Michael, and Pedro Sarmiento governour of the Straits of Magalanes, in the yeere 1586.

THe 10. of June 1586. we departed from Plimouth with two Pinases, the one named the Serpent, of the burden of 35. Tunnes, and the other the Mary Sparke of Plimouth of the burthen of 50. Tuns, both of them belonging to sir Walter Ralegh knight; and directing our course towards the coast of Spaine, & from thence towards the Isles of the Azores, we tooke a small barke laden with Sumacke and other commodities, wherein was the governour of S. Michaels Island, being a Portugal, having other Portugals and Spaniards with him. And from thence we sailed to the Island of Graciosa, to the Westward of the Island of Tercera, where we discried a saile, and bearing with her wee found her to be a Spaniard: But at the first not greatly respecting whom we tooke, so that we might have enriched our selves, which was the cause of this our travaile, and for that we would not bee knowen of

The governor of S. Michael taken prisoner.

what nation we were, wee displayed a white silke ensigne in our maine toppe, which they seeing, made accompt that we had bene some of the king of Spaines Armadas, lying in wait for English men of war: but when we came within shot of her, we tooke downe our white flagge, and spread abroad the Crosse of S. George, which when they saw, it made them to flie as fast as they might, but all their haste was in vaine, for our shippes were swifter of saile then they, which they fearing, did presently cast their ordinance and small shot with many letters, and the draft of the Straights of Magelan into the Sea, and thereupon immediatly we tooke her, wherein wee also tooke a gentleman of Spaine, named Pedro Sarmiento, governour of the Straights of Magelan, which saide Pedro we brought into England with us, and presented him to our soveraigne Lady the Queene.

Pedro Sarmiento the governour of the Straights of Magelan taken prisoner.

After this, lying off and about the Islands, wee descried another saile, and bearing after her, we spent the maine maste of our Admirall, but yet in the night our Viceadmirall tooke her, being laden with fish from Cape Blanke, the which shippe wee let goe againe for want of men to bring her home. The next day we discried two other sailes, the one a shippe and the other a Caravel, to whom we gave chase, which they seeing, with all speede made in under the Isle of Graciosa, to a certaine Fort there for their succour, where they came to an anker, and having the winde of us we could not hurt them with our ships, but we having a small boate, which we called a light horseman, wherein my selfe was, being a Musqueter, and foure more with Calivers, and foure that rowed, came neere unto the shore against the winde, which when they saw us come towards them they caried a great part of their marchandise on land, whither also the men of both vessels went and landed, and as soone as we came within Musquet shot, they began to shoote at us with great ordinance and small shot, and we likewise at them, and in the ende we

A ship laden with fish taken and released againe.

One of the ships taken, and sent away with 2. persons.

boorded one shippe wherein was no man left, so we cut her cables, hoysed her sailes, and sent her away with two of our men, and the other 7. of us passed more neere unto the shoare, and boorded the Caravel, which did ride within a stones cast from the shoare, and so neere the land that the people did cast stones at us, but yet in despight of them all we tooke her, and one onely Negro therein; and cutting her cables in the hawse we hoysed her sailes and being becalmed under the land, we were constrained to rowe her out with our boate, the Fort still shooting at us, and the people on land with Musquets and calivers, to the number of 150. or thereabout: and we answered them with the small force wee had; In the time of which our shooting, the shot of my Musquet being a crossebarre-

The Caravel is taken.

[II. ii. 121.]

shot happened to strike the gunner of the fort to death, even as he was giving levell to one of his great pieces, and thus we parted from them without any losse or hurt on our side. And now, having taken these five sailes of shippes, we did as before, turne away the shippe with the fish, without hurting them, and from one of the other shippes wee tooke her maine Maste to serve our Admirals turne, and so sent her away putting into her all the Spaniards and Portugals, (saving that gentleman Pedro Sarmiento, with three other of the principal men and two Negroes) leaving them all within sight of land, with bread and water sufficient for 10. dayes if neede were.

The prises sent home.

Thus setting our course for England, being off the Islands in the height of 41. degrees, or there about, one of our men being in the toppe discried a saile, then 10. saile, then 15. whereupon it was concluded to sende home those prizes we had, and so left in both our Pinasses not above 60. men. Thus wee returned againe to the Fleete wee had discried, where wee found 24. saile of shippes, whereof two of them were Caracks, the one of 1200. and the other of a 1000. tunnes, and 10. Galions, the rest were small shippes and Caravels all

Two Caracks, 10. Gallions, 12 small ships.

laden with Treasure, spices, and sugars, with which 24. shippes we with two small Pinasses did fight, and kept company the space of 32. houres, continually fighting with them and they with us, but the two Caracks kept still betwixt the Fleete and us, that wee could not take any one of them, so wanting powder, wee were forced to give them over against our willes, for that wee were all wholly bent to the gaining of some of them, but necessitie compelling us, and that onely for want of powder, without losse of any of our men, (which was a thing to be wondered at considering the inequalitie of number) at length we gave them over. Thus we againe set our course for England, and so came to Plimouth within 6. houres after our prizes, which we sent away 40. houres before us, where wee were received with triumphant joy, not onely with great Ordinance then shot off, but with the willing hearts of all the people of the Towne, and of the Countrey thereabout; and we not sparing our Ordinance (with the powder wee had left) to requite and answere them againe. And from thence wee brought our prizes to Southampton, where sir Walter Ralegh being our owner, rewarded us with our shares.

The 2. pinasses returne for England.

Our prizes were laden with sugars, Elephants teeth, waxe, hides, rice, brasill, and Cuser, as by the testimonie of John Evesham himselfe, Captaine Whiddon, Thomas Rainford, Benjamin Wood, William Cooper Master, William Cornish Master, Thomas Drake Corporall, John Ladd gunner, William Warefield gunner, Richard Moone, John Drew, Richard Cooper of Harwich, William Beares of Ratcliffe, John Row of Saltash, and many others, may appeare.

[A briefe

A briefe relation of the notable service performed by Sir Francis Drake upon the Spanish Fleete prepared in the Road of Cadiz: and of his destroying of 100. saile of barks; Passing from thence all along the coast to Cape Sacre, where also hee tooke certaine Forts: and so to the mouth of the River of Lisbon, and thence crossing over to the Isle of Sant Michael, supprized a mighty Carack called the Sant Philip comming out of the East India, which was the first of that kinde that ever was seene in England: Performed in the yeere 1587.



Er Majestie being informed of a mightie preparation by Sea begunne in Spaine for the invasion of England, by good advise of her grave and prudent Counsell thought it expedient to prevent the same. Whereupon she caused a Fleete of some 30. sailes to be rigged and furnished with all things necessary. Over that Fleete she appointed Generall sir Francis Drake (of whose manifold former good services she had sufficient proofe) to whom she caused 4. ships of her Navie royall to be delivered, to wit, The Bonaventure wherein himselfe went as General; the Lion under the conduct of Master William Borough Controller of the Navie; the Dreadnought under the command of M. Thomas Venner; and the Rainebow, captaine whereof was M. Henry Bellingham: unto which 4 ships two of her pinasses were appointed as hand-maids. There were also added unto this Fleet certaine tall ships of the Citie of London, of whose especiall good service the Generall made particular mention in his private Letters directed to her Majestie. This Fleete set saile from the sound of

Plimouth in the moneth of April towards the coast of Spaine.

The 16. of the said moneth we mette in the latitude of 40. degrees with two ships of Middleborough, which came from Cadiz; by which we understood that there was great store of warlike provision at Cadiz & thereabout ready to come for Lisbon. Upon this information our Generall with al speed possible, bending himselfe thither to cut off their said forces and provisions, upon the 19. of April entered with his Fleet into the Harbor of Cadiz: where at our first entring we were assailed over against the Towne by sixe Gallies, which notwithstanding in short time retired under their fortresse. [II. ii. 122.]

There were in the Road 60. ships and divers other small vessels under the fortresse: there fled about 20. French ships to Port Real, and some small Spanish vessels that might passe the sholdes. At our first comming in we sunke with our shot a ship of Raguza of a 1000. tunnes, furnished with 40. pieces of brasse and very richly laden. There came two Gallies more from S. Mary port, and two from Porto Reale, which shot freely at us, but altogether in vaine: for they went away with the blowes well beaten for their paines.

Before night we had taken 30. of the said ships, & became Masters of the Road, in despight of the Gallies, which were glad to retire them under the Fort: in the number of which ships there was one new ship of an extraordinary hugenesse in burthen above 1200. tunnes, belonging to the Marquesse of Santa Cruz being at that instant high Admiral of Spaine. Five of them were great ships of Biskay, whereof 4. we fired, as they were taking in the Kings provision of victuals for the furnishing of his Fleet at Lisbon: the fift being a ship about 1000. tunnes in burthen, laden with Iron-spikes, nailes, yron hoopes, horse-shooes, and other like necessaries bound for the West Indies we fired in like maner. Also we tooke a ship of 250. tunnes laden with wines

for the Kings provision, which wee carried out to the Sea with us, and there discharged the said wines for our owne store, and afterward set her on fire. Moreover we tooke 3. Flyboats of 300. tunnes a piece laden with biscuit, whereof one was halfe unladen by us in the Harborow, and there fired, and the other two we tooke in our company to the Sea. Likewise there were fired by us ten other ships which were laden with wine, raisins, figs, oiles, wheat, & such like. To conclude, the whole number of ships and barkes (as we suppose) then burnt, suncke, and brought away with us, amounted to 30. at the least, being (in our judgement) about 10000. tunnes of shipping.

There were in sight of us at Porto Real about 40. ships, besides those that fled from Cadiz.

We found little ease during our aboad there, by reason of their continuall shooting from the Gallies, the fortresses, and from the shoare: where continually at places convenient they planted new ordinance to offend us with: besides the inconvenience which wee suffered from their ships, which, when they could defend no longer, they set on fire to come among us. Whereupon when the flood came wee were not a little troubled to defend us from their terrible fire, which neverthelesse was a pleasant sight for us to beholde, because we were thereby eased of a great labour, which lay upon us day and night, in discharging the victuals, and other provisions of the enemie. Thus by the assistance of the Almightie, and the invincible courage and industrie of our Generall, this strange and happy enterprize was atchieved in one day and two nights, to the great astonishment of the King of Spaine, which bread such a corrasive in the heart of the Marques of Santa Cruz high Admiral of Spaine, that he never enjoyed good day after, but within fewe moneths (as may justly be supposed) died of extreame griefe and sorrow.

Thus having performed this notable service, we came out of the Road of Cadiz on the Friday morning the

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

21. of the said moneth of April, with very small losse not worth the mentioning.

After our departure ten of the Gallies that were in the Road came out, as it were in disdaine of us, to make some pastime with their ordinance, at which time the wind skanted upon us, whereupon we cast about againe, and stood in with the shoare, & came to anker within a league of the towne; where the said Gallies, for all their former bragging, at length suffred us to ride quietly

We now have had experience of Gally-fight: wherein I can assure you, that onely these 4. of her Majesties ships will make no accompt of 20. Gallies, if they may be alone, and not busied to guard others. There were never Gallies that had better place and fitter opportunitie for their advantage to fight with ships: but they were still forced to retire, wee riding in a narrow gut, the place yeelding no better, and driven to maintaine the same, untill wee had discharged and fired the shippes, which could not conveniently be done but upon the flood, at which time they might drive cleare off us. Thus being victualed with bread and wine at the enemies cost for divers moneths (besides the provisions that we brought from home) our Generall dispatched Captaine Crosse into England with his letters, giving him further in charge to declare unto her Majestie all the particularities of this our first enterprize.

After whose departure wee shaped our course toward Cape Sacre, and in the way thither wee tooke at severall times of ships, barkes, and Caravels well neere an hundred, laden with hoopes, gally-oares, pipe-staves, & other provisions of the king of Spaine, for the furnishing of his forces intended against England, al which we burned, having delt favorably with the men and sent them on shoare. We also spoiled and consumed all the fisher-boats and nets thereabouts, to their great hinderance: and (as we suppose) to the utter overthrow of the rich fishing of their Tunies for the same yere. At length

we came to the aforesaid Cape Sacre, where we went on
[II. ii. 123.] land; and the better to enjoy the benefite of the place, and to ride in harborow at our pleasure, we assailed the same castle, and three other strong holds, which we tooke some by force and some by surrender.

Thence we came before the haven of Lisbon ankering nere unto Cascais, where the Marques of Santa Cruz was with his Gallies, who seeing us chase his ships a shoare, & take and cary away his barks and Caravels, was content to suffer us there quietly to tary, and likewise to depart, and never charged us with one Canon-shot. And when our Generall sent him worde that hee was there ready to exchange certaine bullets with him, the marques refused his chalenge, sending him word, that he was not then ready for him, nor had any such Commission from his King.

Our Generall thus refused by the Marques, and seeing no more good to be done in this place, thought it convenient to spend no longer time upon this coast: and therefore with consent of the chiefe of his Company he shaped his course toward the Isles of the Açores, and passsing towards the Isle of Saint Michael, within 20. or 30. leagues thereof, it was his good fortune to meete with a Portugale Carak called Sant Philip, being the same shippe which in the voyage outward had caried the 3. Princes of Japan, that were in Europe, into the Indies. This Carak without any great resistance hee tooke, bestowing the people thereof in certaine vessels well furnished with victuals, and sending them courteously home into their Countrey: and this was the first Carak that ever was taken comming foorth of the East Indies; which the Portugals tooke for an evil signe, because the ship bare the Kings owne name.

The Carack called the Sanct Philip taken.

The riches of this prize seemed so great unto the whole Company (as in trueth it was) that they assured themselves every man to have a sufficient reward for his travel: and thereupon they all resolved to returne home for England: which they happily did, and arrived in

Plimouth the same Sommer with their whole Fleete and this rich booty, to their owne profite and due commendation, and to the great admiration of the whole kingdome.

And here by the way it is to be noted, that the taking of this Carak wrought two extraordinary effects in England: first, that it taught others, that Caracks were no such bugs but that they might be taken (as since indeed it hath fallen out in the taking of the Madre de Dios, and fyreing and sinking of others) and secondly in acquainting the English Nation more generally with the particularities of the exceeding riches and wealth of the East Indies: whereby themselves and their neighbours of Holland have bene incouraged, being men as skilfull in Navigation and of no lesse courage then the Portugals to share with them in the East Indies: where their strength is nothing so great as heretofore hath bene supposed.

A Patent granted to certaine Marchants of Exeter, and others of the West parts, and of London, for a trade to the River of Senega and Gambra in Guinea, 1588.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our Treasurer and Admirall of England, our Treasurer and Barons of our Exchequer, and all and every our Officers, ministers and subjects whatsoever, greeting. Whereas our welbeloved subjects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicolas Spicer, and John Doricot of our City of Exeter marchants, John Yong of Coliton in our county of Devon marchant, Richard Doderige of Barnestable in our saide Countie of Devon Marchant, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicolas Turner of our Citie of London Marchants, have bene perswaded and earnestly moved by certaine Portugals resident within our Dominions, to undertake and set for-

ward a voyage to certaine places on the coast of Guinea: Videlicet, from the Northermost part of the River commonly called by the name of the River of Senega, and from and within that River all along that coast unto the Southermost part of another River commonly called by the name of Gambra, and within that River: which, as we are informed, they have already once performed accordingly: And for that we are credibly given to understand that the further prosecuting of the same voyage, and the due and orderly establishing of an orderly trafique and trade of marchandize into those Countreis, wil not only in time be very beneficial to these our Realmes and dominions, but also be a great succour and reliefe unto the present distressed estate of those Portugals, who by our princely favour live and continue here under our protection: And considering that the adventuring and enterprising of a newe trade cannot be a matter of small charge and hazard to the adventurers in the beginning: we have therefore thought it convenient, that our said loving subjects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, for the better incouragement to proceede in their saide adventure and trade in the said Countreis, shal have the sole use and exercise thereof for a certaine time. In consideration whereof, and for other waightie reasons and considerations us specially mooving, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, we have given and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors doe give and graunt unto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Young, Richard Doderide, Anthony Dassell and Nicholas Turner, and to every of them, and to such other our Subjects as they or the most part of them shall thinke convenient to receive into their Company and society, to be the traders with them into the said Countreis, that they and every of them by themselves or by their servants or Factors and none others, shall and may for and during

A former voyage to Gambra.

[II. ii. 124.]

the full space and terme of tenne yeeres next ensuing the date of these presents, have and enjoy the free and whole trafique, trade and feat of marchandise, to and from the said Northermost part of the said River, commonly called by the name of the River of Senega: and from and within that River all along the coast of Guinea, unto the Southermost part of the said River, commonly called by the name of the River of Gambra, and within that River also. And that they the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel and Nicholas Turner, & every of them, by themselves or by their servants or Factors, & such as they or the most part of them shall receive into their Company and societie, to be traders with them into the sayd Countreis (as is aforesaid) and none others, shall and may, for, and during the said space and terme of 10. yeres, have and enjoy the sole & whole trafique or trade of marchandize into and from the said places afore limitted and described, for the buying & selling, bartering and changing of and with any goods, wares, and marchandizes whatsoever, to be vented had or found, at or within any the cities, townes, or places situated or being in the countries, partes & coastes of Guinea before limitted, any law, statute, or graunt, matter, custome or privileges to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And for the better ordering, establishing, & governing of the said societie and Company in the said trade and trafique of marchandizes, & the quiet, orderly & lawfull exercise of the same, We for us, our heires, and successors, do by these presents give and graunt full license and authoritie unto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and to such others as they shall receive into their saide societie and company to be traders into the said countreis, as is aforesaid, and to every of them, that they or the most part of them shall and may at all convenient times at their pleasures, assemble and meete together in any place or places convenient, aswell

within our citie of Exeter, as elsewhere within this our Realme of England, or other our dominions, during the said terme of ten yeere, to consult of, for, and concerning the saide trade and trafique of marchandize, and from time to time to make, ordaine, and stablish good, necessary, and reasonable orders, constitutions, and ordinances, for, and touching the same trade. And al such orders, constitutions, and ordinances so to be made, to put in ure and execute, and them, or any of them, to alter, change, and make voyd, and, if neede be, to make new, as at any time, during the said terme of ten yeeres, to them, or the most part of them then trading, as is aforesaide, shall be thought necessary and convenient. Unto all and every which said orders, constitutions, and ordinances, they, and every of them, and all other persons which shall hereafter be received into the saide societie and Company, shall submit themselves, and shall well and duely observe, performe, and obey the same, so long as they shall stand in force, or else shall pay and incurre such forfeitures, paines, and penalties, for the breach thereof, and in such maner and forme, and to such uses & intents, as by the saide orders, constitutions, and ordinances shall be assessed, limitted and appointed. So alwayes, as the same orders, constitutions and ordinances, be not repugnant or contrary to the lawes, statutes, and customes of this Realme of England, nor any penaltie to exceede the reasonable forme of other penalties, assessed by the Company of our Marchants, named Adventurers. And to the intent that they onely, to whom the said power and libertie of trafique and trade of marchandize is graunted by these our letters patents aforesaid, and none others whatsoever, without their speciall consent and license before had, shall, during the said terme of ten yeeres, use, or have trade or trafique, with or for any maner of goods or marchandizes, to and from the saide coastes or parts of Guinea afore limited: Wee doe by these presents, by our royall and supreme authoritie, straightly charge and commaund, that no person, or

persons whatsoever, by themselves, or by their factors, or servants, during the said terme of 10. yeres, shall in any wise trade or trafique, for or with any goods or marchandizes, to or from the said coasts and parts of Guinea afore limitted, other then the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and such as from time to time, they, or the most part of them, shall receive into their societie or company, to be traders with them, as is aforesaid, as they tender our favour, and will avoyde our high displeasure, and upon paine of imprisonment of his or their bodies, at our will and pleasure, and to lose and forfeit the ship or shippes, and all the goods, wares, and marchandizes, wherewith they, or any of them shal, during the said terme of 10. yeres, trade, or trafique to or from [II. ii. 125.] the said Countries, or any part thereof, according to the limitation above mentioned, contrary to our expresse prohibition and restraint, in that behalfe. And further, we do by these presents give and graunt full power and authoritie to the said William Braily, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and to such other persons, as they shal receive into their societie and company, to be traders with them, as is aforesaid, and the most part of them, for the time being: that they, and every of them, by themselves, their factors, deputies, or assignes, shall and may, from time to time, during the said terme of 10. yeres, attach, arrest, take, and sease all, and all maner of ship, and ships, goods, wares, and marchandizes whatsoever, which shall be brought from, or caried to the said coasts and parts of Guinea afore limited, contrary to our will and pleasure, and the true meaning of the same, declared and expressed in these our letters patents. Of all and every which said forfaitures whatsoever, the one third part shall be unto us, our heires, and successors, and another thirde part thereof we give and graunt by these presents, for and towards

the reliefe of the saide Portugals continuing here under our protection, as is aforesaid. And the other third part of al the same forfaitures, we do by these presents, of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, for us, our heires and successors, give and grant cleerely and wholy unto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, and such other persons, as they shall receive into their societie, and company, as is aforesaid. And these our letters patents, or the inrolment or exemplification of the same, without any further or other warrant, shall from time to time, during the said tenne yeeres, be a sufficient warrant and authoritie to our Treasurer of England, for the time being, and to the barons of our Exchequer, and to all other our officers and ministers whatsoever, to whom it shall or may appertaine, to allow, deliver, and pay one thirde part of all the said forfeitures, to the use of the said Portugals, and one other thirde part of the same forfeitures, to the saide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and such other persons, as they shall receive into their societie and Company, to be traders with them, as aforesaide, to their owne proper use and behoofe: which said allowances and paiments thereof, our will and pleasure is, and we do straightly charge and command, to bee from time to time duely made and performed accordingly, without any delay or denial of any our officers aforesaid, or any other our officers or ministers whatsoever. And we do straightly charge and command, and by these presents prohibite all and singular our customers, collectors, and farmers of our Customes and subsidies, and controllers of the same, of and within our ports of the citie of London, and the Citie of Exeter, and all other ports, creekes, and places, within this our Realme of England, and every of them, and all other our officers and ministers whatsoever, which have or shall have any

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dealing or intermedling, touching our said Customes and subsidies, that they, ne any of them by themselves, their clearks, deputies, or substitutes, or any of them take or receive, or in any wise cause or suffer to be taken or received for us, or in our name, or to our use, or for, or in the names or to the uses of our heires or successors, of any person, or persons, any summe or summes of money, or other things whatsoever, during the said terme of ten yeeres, for, or in the name, lieu, or place of any Custome, subsidie, or other thing or duetie, to us, our heires, or successors, due, or to be due, for the Customes or subsidies of any such goods, wares, or marchandizes, to be transported, caried, or brought to or from the privileged places, before in these presents mentioned, or any of them: nor make, nor cause to be made any entry into, or of the bookes of subsidies or customes, nor make any agreement for the Customes or subsidies, of, or for any goods, wares, or marchandizes, to bee sent to, or returned from any the privileged places, before in these presents mentioned, saving onely with, and in the name, and by the consent of the saide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Antonie Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, or of some of them, or of such as they or the most part of them shall receive into their societie and Company, as aforesaid. Provided alwaies, that if at any time hereafter, we our selves, by our writing signed with our proper hand, or any sixe or more of our privie Counsell, for the time being, shall, by our direction, and by writing signed and subscribed with their hands, signifie and notifie to the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, or to any of them, or to any other, whom they, or the most part of them shal receive into their Companie and society, as is aforesaid, or otherwise to our officers in our ports of Exeter, or Plimouth, by them to be notified to such as shall have interest in this speciall privilege,

that our will and pleasure is, that the said trade and trafique shal cease, and be no longer continued into the saide coasts and partes of Guinea before limited: then immediatly from and after the ende of sixe moneths
[II. ii. 126.] next insuing, after such signification & notification so to be given to any of the said Company and societie, as is aforesaid, or otherwise to our Officers in our ports of Exeter or Plimouth, by them to be notified to such as shall have interest in this speciall privilege, these our present letters Patents, and our graunt therein contained shall be utterly voyde, and of none effect, ne validitie in the lawe, to all intents and purposes: any thing before mentioned to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the thirde day of May, in the thirtieth yere of our Reigne 1588.

A voyage to Benin beyond the Countrey of Guinea, set foorth by Master Bird and Master Newton Marchants of London, with a shippe called the Richard of Arundell, and a Pinesse; Written by James Welsh, who was chiefe Master of the said voyage, begunne in the yeere 1588.

UPon the twelft of October wee wayed our ankers at Ratcliffe and went to Blackwall. And the next day sayling from thence, by reason of contrary winde and weather, wee made it the 25. of October before wee were able to reach Plimouth, and there we stayed (to our great expense of victuals) for lacke of winde and weather unto the 14. of December.

On Saturday the said 14. of December we put from thence, and about midnight were thwart of the Lizart.

Rio del oro is in 22. degrees, and 47. min. Thursday the second of January wee had sight of the land neere Rio del oro, God be thanked, and there had 22. degrees of latitude, and 47. minutes.

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Rio Benin.

then we ankered in three fadom and a halfe, and the currant went Westward. This river is the river of Benin, and two leagues from the maine it is very shallowe.

The 15 we sent the boat and pinnesse into the river with the marchants, and after that we set saile, because we road in shallow water, and went Southsoutheast, and the starbord tacke aboord untill we came to five fathom water, where we road with the currant to the Westward: then came our boat out of the harbour and went aboord the pinnesse. The West part of the land was high browed much like the head of a Gurnard, and the Eastermost land was lower, and had on it three tufts of trees like stackes of wheate or corne, and the next day in the morning we sawe but two of those trees, by reason that we went more to the Eastward. And here we road still from the 14 of Februarie untill the 14 of Aprill, with the winde at Southwest.

A currant Westward.

The 16 of Februarie we rode still in 5 fadome, and the currant ranne still to the Westward, the winde at Southwest, and the boat and pinnesse came to us againe out of the river, and told us that there was but ten foote water upon the barre. All that night was drowsie, and yet reasonable temperate.

Ten foote water upon the barre of Rio de Benin.

The 17 a close day the winde at Southwest. Our marchants wayed their goods and put them aboord the pinnesse to goe into the river, and there came a great currant out of the river and set to the Westward.

The 18 the marchants went with the boat and pinnesse into the river with their commodities. This day was close and drowsie, with thunder, raine and lightning.

The 24 a close morning and temperate, and in the afternoone the boat came to us out of the river from our marchants.

Tuesday the 4 of March, a close soultry hot morning, the currant went to the Westward, and much troubled water came out of the river.

The 16 our pinnesse came a boord and Anthonie Ingram in her, & she brought in her 94 bags of pepper,

and 28 Elephants teeth, and the Master of her and all his company were sicke. This was a temperate day and the winde at Southwest. [II. ii. 128.] *Sicknesse among our men.*

The 17. 18. and 19 were faire temperate weather and the winde at Southwest. This day the pinnesse went into the river againe, and caried the Purser and the Surgion.

The 25 of the said moneth 1589 we sent the boate into the river.

The 30 our pinnesse came from Benin, and brought sorowfull newes, that Thomas Hemsted was dead and our Captaine also, and she brought with her 159 Cerons or sackes of pepper and Elephants teeth. *The death of the Captaine. Pepper & Elephants teeth.*

Note that in all the time of our abiding here, in the mouth of the river of Benin, and in all the coast hereabout it is faire temperate weather, when the winde is at Southwest. And when the winde is at Northeast and Northerly, then it raineth, with lightning and thunder, and is very intemperate weather. *A good note.*

The 13 of Aprill 1589 we set saile homewards in the name of Jesus. In the morning we sayled with the winde at Southwest, and lay West and by North, but it prooved calme all that night, and the currant Southeast.

The 14 the river of Benin was Northeast 7 leagues from the shore, and there was litle winde and towards night calme.

The 17 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and we had of latitude foure degrees and 20 minutes.

The 25 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and here we had three degrees & 29 minuts of latitude.

The 8 of May we had sight of the shore, which was part of Cavo de Monte, but we did not thinke we had beene so farre, but it came so to passe by reason of the currant. In this place M. Towrson was in like maner deceived with the currant. *A deceitpfull currant.*

The 9 we had sight of Cavo de monte.

The 17 a darke drowsie day, this was the first night that I tooke the North starre.

The 26 a temperate day with litle winde, and we were in 12 degrees and 13 minutes of latitude.

The 30 we met a great sea out of the Northwest.

The 6 of June we found it as temperate as if we had beene in England, & yet we were within the height of the sunne, for it was declined 23 degrees, and 26 minuts to the Northward, and we had 15 degrees of latitude.

The 8 faire and temperate as in England, here we met with a counter sea, out of the Southborde.

The 15 a faire temperate day, the winde variable, here we had 18 degrees and fiftie nine minutes.

Rockweed or Saragasso all along the sea.

The 12 of July in 30 degrees of latitude we met with great store of rockweed, which did stick together like clusters of grapes, and this continued with us untill the 17 of the said moneth, and then we saw no more, at which 17 day we were in two and thirtie degrees sixe and fortie minutes of latitude.

The 25 at sixe of the clocke in the morning, we had sight of the Isle of Pike, it bare North and by East from us, we being 15 leagues off.

The 27 we spake with the poste of London and she told us good newes of England.

The nine and twentieth we had sight of the Island of Cuervo, and the 30 we saw the Island of Flores.

The 27 of August in 41 degrees of latitude we saw 9 saile of Britons, and three of them followed us untill noone, and then gave us over.

The 30 we had sight of Cape Finisterre.

The eight of September at night wee put into Plimouth sound, and road in Causon bay all night.

The 9 we put into Catwater and there stayed untill the 28 of September, by reason of want of men and sicknesse.

The nine and twentieth we set sayle from Plimouth, and arrived at London the second of October 1589.

The commodities that we caried in this voyage were cloth both linnen & wollen, yron worke of sundry sorts,

Manillios or bracelets of copper, glasse beades, and corrall.

The commodities that we brought home were pepper and Elephants teeth, oyle of palme, cloth made of Cotton wooll very curiously woven, and cloth made of the barke of palme trees. Their money is pretie white shels, for golde and silver we saw none. They have also great store of cotton growing: their bread is a kind of roots, they call it Inamia, and when it is well sodden I would leave our bread to eat of it, it is pleasant in eating, and light of digestion, the roote thereof is as bigge as a mans arme. Our men upon fish-dayes had rather eate the rootes with oyle and vineger, then to eate good stockfish. There are great store of palme trees, out of the which they gather great store of wine, which wine is white and very pleasant, & we should buy two gallons of it for 20 shels. They have good store of sope, and it smelleth like beaten violets. Also many pretie fine mats and baskets that they make, and spoones of Elephants teeth very curiously wrought with divers proportions of foules and beasts made upon them. There is upon the coast wonderfull great lightning and thunder, in so much as I never hard the like in no Countrey, for it would make the decke or hatches tremble under our feete, and before we were well acquainted with it, we were fearefull, but God be thanked we had no harme. The people are very gentle and loving, and they goe naked both men and women untill they be married, and then they goe covered from the middle downe to the knees. They would bring our men earthen pottes of the quantitie of two gallons, full of hony and hony combes for 100 shelles. They would also bring great store of Oranges and Plantans which is a fruit that groweth upon a tree, and is very like unto a Cucumber but very pleasant in eating. It hath pleased God of his merceifull goodnesse to give me the knowledge how to preserve fresh water with little cost, which did serve us sixe moneths at the sea, & when we came into Plim-

[II. ii. 129.]

Inamia, a kind of bread in Benin.

Wine of palm trees.

Abundance of hony.

This preservative is wrought by casting into an hogshead of water an handful of bay-salt, as the author told me.

mouth it was much wondered at, of the principal men of the towne, who said that there was not sweeter water in any spring in Plimouth. Thus doth God provide for his creatures, unto whom be praise now and for evermore, Amen.

The voiage set forth by M. John Newton, and M. John Bird marchants of London to the kindome and Citie of Benin in Africa, with a ship called the Richard of Arundell, and a pinnesse, in the yere 1588. briefely set downe in this letter following, written by the chiefe Factor in the voyage to the foresaid Marchants at the time of the ships first arrivall at Plimouth.



Orshipful Sirs, the discourse of our whole proceeding in this voyage wil aske more time and a person in better health then I am at this present, so that I trust you will pardon me, till my comming up to you: in the meane time let this suffice. Whereas we departed in the moneth of December from the coast of England with your good ship the Richard of Arundell and the pinnesse, we held on our direct course towards our appointed port, and the 14 day of Februarie following we arrived in the haven of Benin, where we found not water enough to carry the ship over the barre, so that we left her without in the road, and with the pinnesse & ship boat, into which we had put the chiefest of our marchandise, we went up the river to a place called Goto, where we arrived the 20 of February, the foresaid Goto being the neerest place that we could come to by water, to go for Benin. From thence we presently sent Negroes to the king, to certifie him of our arrivall, and of the cause of our comming thither: who returned to us againe the 22 day with a noble man in their

Goto in Benin.

company to bring us up to the Citie, and with 200 Negroes to carrie our commodities: hereupon the 23 day we delivered our marchandize to the kings Factor, & the 25 day we came to the great Citie of Benin, where we were well intertained: The sixe & twenty day we went to the Court to have spoken with the king, which (by reason of a solemne feast then kept amongst them) we could not doe: but yet we spake with his Veadore, or chiefe man, that hath the dealing with the Christians: and we conferred with him concerning our trading, who answered us, that we should have all things to our desire, both in pepper and Elephants teeth.

The great citie of Benin.

The first of March we were admitted to the kings presence, and he made us the like courteous answere for our traffike: the next day we went againe to the Court, where the foresaid Veadore shewed us one basket of greene pepper, and another of dry in the stalkes: wee desired to have it plucked from the stalks and made cleane, who answered, that it would aske time, but yet it should be done: and that against another yeere it should be in better readines, & the reason why we found it so unprepared was, because in this kings time no Christians had ever resorted thither, to lade pepper. The next day there were sent us 12 baskets, and so a litle every day untill the 9 of March at which time we had made upon 64 serons of pepper, and 28 Elephants teeth. In this time of our being at Benin (our natures at this first time not so well acquainted with that climate) we fell all of us into the disease of the fever, whereupon the Captaine sent me downe with those goods which we alreadie had received, to the rest of our men at Goto: where being arrived, I found all the men of our pinnesse sicke also, and by reason of their weaknes not able to convey the pinnesse and goods downe to the place where our ship road: but by good hap within two houres after my comming to Goto, the boate came up from the ship, [II. ii. 130.]

to see how all things stood with us, so that I put the goods into the boat, and went downe towards the ship: but by that time I was come aboord, many of our men died: namely, Master Benson, the Cooper, the Carpenter, & 3 or 4 more, & my selfe was also in such a weake state that I was not able to returne againe to Benin. Whereupon I sent up Samuel Dunne, and the Chirurgian with him to our men, that were about to let them blood, if it were thought needfull: who at their comming to Benin, found the Captaine and your sonne William Bird dead, and Thomas Hempsteede very weake, who also died within two dayes after their comming thither. This sorrowfull accident caused them with such pepper and teeth, as they could then find, speedily to returne to the ship, as by the Cargason will appeare: at their comming away the Veadore tolde them, that if they could or would stay any longer time, he would use all possible expedition to bring in more commodities: but the common sicknesse so increased and continued amongst us all, that by the time our men which remained were come aboord, we had so many sicke and dead of our companie, that we looked all for the same happe, and so thought to loose both our ship, life, countrey and all. Very hardly and with much adoe could we get up our ankers, but yet at the last by the mercie of God having gotten them up, but leaving our pinnesse behinde us, we got to sea, and set saile, which was upon the 13 of Aprill. After which by little and little our men beganne to gather up their crums and to recover some better strength: and so sailing betwixt the Islands of Cape Verde, and the maine we came to the Islands of the Azores upon the 25 of July, where our men beganne a fresh to grow ill, and divers died, among whom Samuel Dun was one, and as many as remained living were in a hard case: but in the midst of our distresse, it fell so wel out, by Gods good providence, that we met with your ship the Barke Burre, on this side the North cape,

which did not only keepe us good companie, but also sent us sixe fresh men aboord, without whose helpe, we should surely have tasted of many inconveniences. But by this good meanes we are now at the last arrived in Plimouth, this 9 day of September: and for want of better health at this time, I referre the further knowledge of more particularities, till my comming to London.

Yours to commaund
Anthony Ingram.

The second voyage to Benin, set foorth by Master John Newton, and Master John Bird Marchants of London in the yeere 1590 with a ship called the Richard of Arundell of the burthen of one hundreth tunnes, and a small pinnesse, in which voyage Master James Welsh was chiefe Maister.

THe third of September 1590 we set saile from Ratcliffe, and the 18 of the said moneth we came into Plimouth sound, and the two and twentieth we put to sea againe, and at midnight we were off the Lisart, and so passed on our voyage untill the 14 of October, on which day we had sight of Forteventura one of the Canarie Islands, which appeared very ragged as we sailed by it.

The 16 of October, in the latitude of 24 degrees and nine minutes we met with a great hollow sea, the like whereof I never saw on this coast, and this day there came to the ships side a monstrous great fish (I thinke it was a Gobarto) which put up his head to the steepe tubs where ye cooke was in shifting the victuals, whom I thought the fish would have caried away.

The 21 in this latitude of 18 degrees we met with a countersea out of the North boord, and the last

voyage in this very place we had the countersea out of the South, being very calme weather as now it is also.

The 24 we had sight of Cavo Verde, and the 25 we met with a great hollow sea out of the North, which is a common signe that the winde will be Northerly, and so it prooved.

A token of a Northerly winde.

The 15 of November we met with three currants out of the West and Northwest, one after another, with an houres time betweene each currant. This was in the latitude of 6 degrees and 42 minutes.

Great currants.

The 18 day we met with two other great currants out of the Southwest, and the 20 we saw another current out of the Northeast, and the 24 we had a great current out of the Southsouthwest, and at 6 of the clocke towards night we had 3 currents more.

The 27 we thought that we had gone at the least 2 leagues and a halfe every watch, and it fell out that we sailed but one league every watch for the space of 24 hours, by meanes of a great billow and current that came still out of the South.

[II. ii. 131.] The 5 of December in setting the watch we cast about and lay East Northeast, and Northeast, and here in 5 degrees and a halfe our pinnesse lost us wilfully.

The 7 at the going downe of the Sunne we saw a great blacke spot in the Sunne, and the 8. day both at rising and setting we saw the like, which spot to our seeming was about the bignesse of a shilling, being in 5 degrees of latitude, and still there came a great billow out of the southerboord.

The 14 we sounded and had 15 fadom water and grosse red sand, and 2 leagues from the shore the currant set Southeast along the shore with a billow still out of the southerboord.

The 15 we were thwart a rocke somewhat like the Mewstone in England, it was 2 leagues from us, here we sounded and had 27 fadom, but the rocke is not above a mile from the shore, and a mile farther we saw another rocke, and betweene them both broken

Two rocks.

ground; here we sounded and had but 20 fadome and blacke sand, and we might see plaine that the rockes went not along the shore, but from the land to the seaward, and about 5 leagues to the Southward we sawe a great bay, here we had 4 degrees and 27 minuts.

The 16 we met with a French ship of Hunfleur, who robbed our pinnesse, we sent a letter by him, and this night we saw another spot in the Sunne at his going downe. And towards evening we were thwart of a river, and right over the river was a high tuft of trees. *A French ship of Hunfleur.*

The 17 we ankered in the rivers mouth, and then we found the land to be Cavo de las Palmas, and betweene us & the cape was a great ledge of rockes, one league and a halfe into the sea, and they bare to the West of the Cape, we saw also an Island off the point of the foreland, thus it waxed night that we could perceive no more of the lande, but onely that it trended in like a bay, where there runneth a streame as if it were in the river of Thames, and this was the change day of the Moone. *Cavo de las Palmas.*

The 19 a faire temperate day, and the wind South, we went East, and the lande a sterne of us West, and it shewed low by the water side like Islands, this was the east of Cavo de las Palmas, and it trended in with a great sound, and we went East all night, and in the morning wee were but 3 or 4 leagues from the shore.

The 20 we were thwart of a river called Rio de los Barbos. *Rio de los Barbos.*

The 21 we went along the shore East, & 3 or 4 leagues to the West of Cavos de tres puntas, I find the bay to be set deeper then it is by 4 leagues, and at 4 of the clocke the land begun to shewe high, and the first part of it full of Palme trees.

The 24 still going by the shore, the land was very low and full of trees by the water side, and at 12 of the clocke we ankered thwart of the river called, Rio de Boilas. Here we sent our boate a shore with the mar- *Rio de Boila*

chants, but they durst not put into the river because of a great billow that continually brake at the enterance upon the barre.

The 28 we sailed alongst the shore, and ankered at night in seven fadom because a great current would have put us backe, which came from the East Southeast from Papuas.

Papuas.

Arda. The 29 at noone we were thwart of Arda, and there we tooke a Caravel but the men were fled on land, then we went aboord her, but she had nothing in her but only a litle oyle of Palme trees, and a few roots. The next morning our Captaine and marchants went to meete Portugals, that came in a boate to speake with us, where they communed about the buying of the Caravell of our men againe, and the Portugals promised that we should have for the Caravell, certaine bullocks and Elephants teeth, and they gave us one tooth and one bullocke presently, and sayd they would bring us the rest the next day.

Januarie. The first of Januarie our Captaine went on land to speake with the Portugales, but when he saw they did dissemble, he came aboord againe, and presently we unrigged the Caravell, and set her on fire before the towne. Then we set saile and went along the coast, where we saw a Date tree, the like whereof is not in all that coast upon the water side, also we fell on ground a litle in one place: Thus we went to Villa longa, and there ankered.

Villa longa.

Rio de Lagoa. The third we were as far shot as Rio de Lagoa, where our marchants went a shore and upon the barre they found 3 fadom flat, but they went not in because it was late. There is also to the Eastward of this river a Date tree higher then all the rest of the other trees thereabout. Thus we went along the coast, and every night ankered, & al the shore as we went was full of trees and thicke woods.

The 6 day in the morning it was very foggy, so that we could not see the land, and at three of the clocke in the afternoone it cleared up, & then we found our

selves thwart of the river of Jaya, and when we found the shallow water, we bare into the sea South, as we did the voyage before, and came to an ancre in five fadom water. The next day we set saile againe, and towards noone we were thwart of the river of Benin in foure fadom water. *The river of Jaya.* *The river of Benin.*

The 10 day our Captaine went on land with the shallop at 2 a clocke in the afternoone. All this weeke it was very foggy every day untill ten a clocke, and all this time hitherto hath beene as temperate as our summer in England. This day we went into the road and ankered, & the west point of the road bare East northeast off us, wee riding in foure fadome water. [II. ii. 132.]

The 21 a faire temperate day, this day M. Hassald went to the towne of Goto, to heare newes of the Captaine. *Goto.*

The 23 came the Caravell, and Samuell in her, and she brought 63 Elephants teeth, and three bullocks. *The Caravell bringeth teeth aboord.*

The 28 a faire temperate day, and towards night there fell much raine, lightning, and thunder, this day our boate came aboord from Goto.

The 24 of Februarie, we tooke in 298 Cerons or sackes of pepper, and 4 Elephants teeth, and the winde was at Southeast. And the 26 we put the rest of our goods into the Caravell, and M. Hassald went with her to Goto. 298. *sacks of pepper.*

The 5 of March ye Caravel came againe & brought 21 Cerons of pepper, & 4 Elephants teeth.

The 9 of Aprill our Caravell came aboord with water for our provision for the sea, and this day also we lost our shallope.

The 17 a drowsie rainie day, and in the afternoone we saw 3 great spoutes of raine, two on our larbord side, and one right with the ships head, but God be thanked, they came not at us, and this day we tooke in the last of our water for the sea, and the 26 we victualed our Caravell to go with us to the sea. *Three spouts.*

The 27 we set saile to goe homewarde with the winde *They returned homeward.*

at Southwest, and at two a clocke in the afternoone, the river of Benin was Northeast 8 leagues from us.

The 3 of May we had such a terrible gust with raine, lightning & thunder, that it tore and split our fore saile, and also the Caravels fore-sayle and maine-sayle, with the wind at Southeast.

The 12 a faire temperate day, much like our sommer mornings in England, being but one degree & a halfe from the line, but at midnight we had a cruell gust of raine, & the wind at northeast.

The 24 we were South from Cavo de las Palmas 37 leagues.

Brava. The first of July we had sight of the Island of Brava, and it bare East 7 leagues off, and this Island is one of the Islands of Cavo Verde.

The 13 of August we spake with the Queenes ships, the Lord Thomas Howard being Admirall, and sir Richard Greenevill Viceadmirall. They kept us in their company untill the 15 day at night, themselves lying a hull, in waight for purchase 30 leagues to the Southwest of the Island of Flores.

We departed in company of a prise. The 15 we had leave to depart with a fly-boat laden with sugar that came from Sant Thome, which was taken by the Queenes ships, whereof my Lord Admirall gave me great charge, not to leave her untill she were harbored in England.

The three and twentieth the Northeast part of the Island *Corvo.* of Corvo bare off us East and by South sixe leagues off.

The 17 of September we met with a ship of Plimouth that came out of the West Indies, but she could tell us no newes. The next day we had sight of another sayle, this day also one of our company named M. Wood died.

The 23 we spake with the Dragon of my Lord of Cumberland, whereof Master Ivie was Maister.

The second of October we met with a ship of Newcastle which came from Newfoundland, and out of her we had 300 couple of Newland fish.

The 6 we had sight of Sillie, and with raine and winde

we were forced to put into S. Maries sound, where we staied all night, and 4 dayes after.

The 11 we set saile againe, and comming out had three fadom upon the barre at a high water, then we lay out Southeast, through Crow-sand, and shortly after we had sight of the lands end, and at ten of the clocke we were thwart of the Lysart.

The 13 we were put into Dartmouth, and there we stayd untill the 12 of December. From thence we put out with the winde at West, and the 18 of December, God be praised, we ankered at Limehouse in the Thames, where we discharged 589 sacks of Pepper, 150 Elephants teeth, and 32 barrels of oile of Palme trees.

The commodities that we caried out this second voyage were Broad cloth, Kersies, Bayes, Linnen cloth, Yron unwrought, Bracelets of Copper, Corall, Hawks belles, Horsetailes, Hats, and such like.

This voyage was more comfortable unto us then the first, because we had good store of fresh water, and that very sweet: for as yet we have very good water in the shippe which we brought out of the river of Benin the first day of Aprill 1591. and it is at this day (being the 7 of June 1592.) to be seen aboord the ship as cleare and as sweet as any fountaine can yeeld. [II. ii. 133.]

It is more temperate under the equinoctiall, then on the coast of Guinie & Benin.

In this voiage we sailed 350 leagues within halfe a degree of the equinoctiall line, and there we found it more temperate, then where we rode. And under the line wee did kill great store of small Dolphines, and many other good fishes, and so did we all the way, which was a very great refreshing unto us, and the fish never forsooke us, until we were to the Northwards of the Ilands of Azores, and then we could see no more fish, but God be thanked wee met with good company of our countrey ships which were great comfort unto us, being five moneths before at Sea without any companie.

By me James Welsh master of the Richard of Arundell, in both these voyages to the river of Benin.

An Advertisement sent to Philip the second king of Spaine from Angola by one Baltazar Almeida de Sousa, touching the state of the foresayd countrey, written the 21 of May, 1591.

Paulo Dias Governour of Angola.

THe 26 of July I certified your majestie by John Frere de Bendanha your majesties pay-master and commissioner, with the governour Paulo Dias, which is lately deceased, of all things that happened the 28 of December in the yere last past 1590. Now I thought it convenient to advertise your majestie what hath fallen out since that time, which is as foloweth. The governour Luis Serrano encamped himselfe eight leagues from Cabasa, where the Negro king dwelleth, with 350 Portugal souldiers: & afterward being there encamped, it hapned that the king of Matamba sent a strong and mightie army, & in warlike maner, with strange inventions for the sayd purpose. So the king of Angola gave this other king battell, and the governour sent 114 souldiers Portugals to helpe the said king of Angola: in which battell it was the will of God that our army was overthrowen and all slaine, as well our Portugals as the Moores which tooke part with them. So with this overthrow it happened that this realme the second time hath rebelled against your majestie. Hereupon the Governour assembling the rest of his Portugall souldiers, to the number of 250 altogether, went to Amasanguano, which is now his place of abode. Moreover, besides the manifold losses which have befallen the Portugals in this realme, your majestie hath sustained other great misfortunes both in your lands and goods. And because I cannot personally come to certifie your majestie thereof, I thought it good to write some part of the same whereby your majestie may understand the estate of this countrey. This realme, for the most

The king of Matamba.

114 Portugals slain in Angola.

Amasanguano the Portugals abode in Angola.

part thereof hath twise bene wonne, and twise lost for want of good government. For here have bene many governours which have pretended to do justice, but have pitifully neglected the same, and practised the cleane contrary. And this I know to be most true. But the onely way to recover this realme, and to augment your majesties lands, goods and treasure, must be by sending some noble and mighty man to rule here, which must bring authoritie from your majestie, and by taking streight order that every captaine which doeth conquere here may bee rewarded according to his deserts. Likewise your majestie must send hither 2000 good souldiers, with munition and sufficient store of provision for them. And by this means your highnesse shall know what yeerely revenue Angola will yeeld unto your coffers, and what profit will grow thereof. Otherwise your majestie shall reape but litle benefit here. If with my presence I may doe your majestie any service in giving information of the state of this realme, as one which have had experience thereof, and have seene the order of it, upon the understanding of your majesties pleasure herein, I will doe my best indevour. And the cause wherefore I have not done this heretofore hath bene, by reason that the Governours of this realme would suffer none of the captaines which have conquered this countrey to informe your majestie of that which is needfull for your service, and the augmenting of this conquest. Our lord preserve your catholique person with increase of many kingdomes, and the augmentation of youre crowne. Written in the conquest of the realme of Angola the 21 of May 1591.

The onely way to reduce a rebellious kingdom unto obedience.

An usuall trick of lewd governours.

Your majesties most loiall subject,
Baltazar Almeida de Souza.

[A true

[II. ii. 134.] A true discourse written (as is thought) by Colonel Antonie Winkfield emploied in the voiage to Spaine and Portugall, 1589. sent to his particular friend, & by him published for the better satisfaction of all such as having bene seduced by particular report, have entred into conceits tending to the discredite of the enterprise and Actors of the same.

ALthough the desire of advancing my reputation caused me to withstand the many perswasions you used to hold me at home, & the pursute of honorable actions drew me (contrary to your expectation) to neglect that advise, which in love I know you gave me: yet in respect of the many assurances you have yeelded mee of your kindest friendship, I cannot suspect that you will either love or esteeme me the lesse, at this my returne: and therfore I wil not omit any occasion which may make me appeare thankfull, or discharge any part of that duetie I owe you; which now is none other then to offer you a true discourse how these warres of Spaine and Portugall have passed since our going out of England the 18 of Aprill, till our returne which was the first of July. Wherein I wil (under your favourable pardon) for your further satisfaction, as well make relation of those reasons which confirmed me in my purpose of going abroad, as of these accidents which have happened during our aboad there; thereby hoping to perswade you that no light fansie did drawe me from the fruition of your dearest friendship, but an earnest desire, by following the warres to make my selfe more woorthy of the same.

Having therefore determinately purposed to put on this habite of a souldier, I grew doubtfull whether to employ my time in ye wars of the low Countries, which

are in auxiliarie maner maintained by her majestie, or to folow the fortune of this voiage, which was an adventure of her and many honorable personages, in revenge of unsupportable wrongs offered unto the estate of our countrey by the Castilian king: in arguing whereof, I find that by how much the chalenger is reputed before the defendant, by so much is the journey to be preferred before those defensive wars. For had the duke of Parma his turne bene to defend, as it was his good fortune to invade: from whence could have proceeded that glorious honor which these late warres have laid upon him, or what could have bene said more of him, then of a Respondent (though never so valiant) in a private Duell? Even, that he hath done no more then by his honour he was tied unto. For the gaine of one towne or any small defeat giveth more renoume to the Assailant, then the defence of a countrey, or the withstanding of twentie encounters can yeeld any man who is bound by his place to guard the same: whereof as well the particulars of our age, especially in the Spaniard, as the reports of former histories may assure us, which have still laied the fame of all warres upon the Invader. And do not ours in these dayes live obscured in Flanders, either not having wherewithall to manage any warre, or not putting on armes, but to defend themselves when the enemie shall procure them? Whereas in this short time of our Adventure, we have won a towne by escalade, battred & assaulted another, overthrowen a mightie princes power in the field, landed our armie in 3 several places of his kingdom, marched 7 dayes in the heart of his country, lien three nights in the suburbs of his principall citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof, and possessed two of his frontier Forts, as shall in discourse thereof more particularly appeare: whereby I conclude, that going with an Invader, and in such an action as every day giveth new experience, I have much to vaunt of, that my fortune did rather cary me thither then into the wars of Flanders.

Notwithstanding the vehement perswasions you used with me to the contrary, the grounds whereof sithence you received them from others, you must give me leave to acquaint you with the error you were led into by them, who labouring to bring the world into an opinion that it stood more with the safetie of our estate to bend all our forces against the prince of Parma, then to folow this action by looking into the true effects of this journey, will judicially convince themselves of mistaking the matter. For, may the conquest of these countries against the prince of Parma be thought more easie for us alone now, then the defence of them was 11 yeeres agoe, with the men and money of the Queene of England? the power of the Monsieur of France? the assistance of the principal states of Germanie? and the nobilitie of their owne country? Could not an armie of more then 20000 horse, & almost 30000 foot, beat Don John de Austria out of the countrey, who was possessed of a very few frontier townes? & shall it now be laid upon her majesties shoulders to remoove so mightie an enemie, who hath left us but 3 whole parts of 17 unconquered? It is not a journey of a few moneths, nor an auxiliarie warre of few yeeres that can damnifie the king of Spaine in those places where we shall meet at every 8 or 10 miles end with a towne, which will cost more the winning then will yeerely pay 4 or 5 thousand mens wages, where all the countrey is quartered by rivers which have no passage unfortified, and where
[II. ii. 135.] most of the best souldiers of Christendom that be on our adverse party be in pension. But our armie, which hath not cost her majestie much above the third part of one yeres expenses in the Low countries, hath already spoiled a great part of the provision he had made at the Groine of all sortes, for a new voyage into England; burnt 3 of his ships, wherof one was ye second in the last yeres expedition called S. Juan de Colorado, taken from him above 150 pieces of good artillerie; cut off more then 60 hulks and 20 French ships wel manned fit and

readie to serve him for men of war against us, laden for his store with corne, victuals, masts, cables and other marchandizes; slaine and taken the principal men of war he had in Galitia; made Don Pedro Enriques de Gusman, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his forces in Portugall, shamefully run at Peniche; laid along of his best Commanders in Lisbon; and by these few adventures discovered how easily her majestie may without any great adventure in short time pull the Tirant of the world upon his knees, as wel by the disquieting his usurpation of Portugall as without difficultie in keeping the commoditie of his Indies from him, by sending an army so accomplished, as may not be subject to those extremities which we have endured: except he draw, for those defences, his forces out of the Low countries and disfurnish his garisons of Naples & Milan, which with safetie of those places he may not do. And yet by this meane he shall rather be inforced thereunto, then by any force that can be used there against him: wherefore I directly conclude that this proceeding is the most safe and necessary way to be held against him, and therefore more importing then the war in the Low countries. Yet hath the journey (I know) bene much misliked by some, who either thinking too worthily of the Spaniards valure, too indifferently of his purposes against us, or too unworthily of them that undertooke this journey against him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing needlesse to proceed by invasion against him, a thing of too great moment for two subjects of their qualitie to undertake: And therfore did not so advance the beginnings as though they hoped for any good successe therof.

The chances of wars be things most uncertaine: for what people soever undertake them, they are in deed as chastisements appointed by God for the one side or the other. For which purpose it hath pleased him to give some victories to the Spaniards of late yeeres against some whom he had in purpose to ruine. But if we con-

sider what wars they be that have made their name so terrible, we shal find them to have bin none other then against the barbarous Moores, the naked Indians, and the unarmed Netherlanders, whose yeelding rather to the name then act of the Spaniards, hath put them into such a conceit of their mightines, as they have considerately undertaken the conquest of our monarchie, consisting of a people united & alwayes held sufficiently warlike: against whom what successe their invincible army had the last yeere, as our very children can witness, so I doubt not but this voiage hath sufficiently made knowen what they are even upon their owne dunghill, which, had it bene set out in such sort as it was agreed upon by their first demaund, it might have made our nation the most glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of 8 of the 12 pieces of artillerie, which were promised unto the Adventure, lost her majestie the possession of the Groine and many other places, as hereafter shal appeare, whose defensible rampires were greater then our batterie (such as it was) cold force: and therefore were left unattempted?

It was also resolved to have sent 600 English horses of the Low countries, whereof we had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transportation hither: and that may the army assembled at Puente de Burgos thanke God of, as well as the forces of Portugall, who foreran us 6 daies together: Did we not want 7 of the 13 old Companies, which we should have had from thence; foure of the 10 dutch Companies; & 6 of their men of war for the sea, from the Hollanders: which I may justly say we wanted, in that we might have had so many good souldiers, so many good ships, and so many able bodies more then we had?

Did there not upon the first thinking of the journey divers gallant Courtiers put in their names for adventurers to the summe of 10000 li. who seeing it went forward in good earnest, advised themselves better, and laid the want of so much money upon the journey?

Was there not moreover a round summe of the adventure spent in levying, furnishing, and maintaining 3 moneths 1500 men for the service of Berghen, with which Companies the Mutinies of Ostend were suppressed, a service of no smal moment?

What misery the detracting of the time of our setting out, which should have bene the 1 of February, did lay upon us, too many can witnes: and what extremitie the want of that moneths victuals which we did eat, during the moneth we lay at Plimmouth for a wind, might have driven us unto, no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men do live by, had not God given us in the ende a more prosperous wind and shorter passage into Galitia then hath bene often seen, where our owne force & fortune revictualled us largely: of which crosse windes, that held us two dayes after our going out, the Generals being wearie, thrust to Sea in the same, wisely chusing rather to attend the change thereof there, then by being in harborough to lose any part of the better, when it should [II. ii. 136.] come by having their men on shore: in which two dayes 25 of our companies shipped in part of the fleet were scattered from us, either not being able or willing to double Ushant.

These burdens layed upon our Generals before their going out, they have patiently endured, and I thinke they have thereby much enlarged their honour: for having done thus much with the want of our artillery, 600 horse, 3000 foot, 20000 li. of their adventure, and one moneths victuals of their proportion, what may be conjectured they would have done with their ful complement?

For the losse of our men at sea, since we can lay it on none but the will of God, what can be said more, then that it is his pleasure to turne all those impediments to the honor of them against whom they were intended: and he will still shew himselfe the Lord of hosts in doing great things by them, whom many have sought to obscure: who if they had let the action fall at the height thereof in respect of those defects, which were such

especially for the service at land, as would have made a mighty subject stoope under them, I do not see how any man could justly have layd any reproch upon him who commanded the same, but rather have lamented the iniquity of this time, wherein men whom forren countries have for their conduct in service worthily esteemed of, should not only in their owne countrey not be seconded in their honorable endevors, but mightily hindred, even to ye impairing of their owne estates, which most willingly they have adventured for the good of their countries: whose worth I will not value by my report, lest I should seem guiltie of flattery (which my soule abhorreth) & yet come short in the true measure of their praise. Onely for your instruction against them who had almost seduced you from the true opinion you hold of such men, you shal understand that General Norris from his booke was trained up in the wars of the Admiral of France, and in very yong yeeres had charge of men under the erle of Essex in Ireland: which with what commendations he then discharged, I leave to the report of them who observed those services. Upon the breach betwixt Don John & the States, he was made Colonell generall of all ye English forces there present, or to come, which he continued 2 yeeres: he was then made Marshall of the field under Conte Hohenlo: and after that, General of the army in Frisland: at his comming home in the time of Monsieurs government in Flanders, he was made lord President of Munster in Ireland, which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yeere he was sent for, & sent Generall of the English forces which her majestie then lent to the Low countries, which he held til the erle of Leicesters going over. And he was made Marshall of the field in England, the enemy being upon our coast, and when it was expected the crowne of England should have bene tried by battel. Al which places of commandement which never any Englishman successively attained unto in forren wars, and the high places her majestie had thought him

woorthy of, may suffice to perswade you, that he was not altogether unlikely to discharge that which he undertooke.

What fame general Drake hath gotten by his journy about the world, by his adventures to the west Indies, & the scourges he hath laid upon the Spanish nation, I leave to the Southerne parts to speake of, & refer you to The Booke extant in our own language treating of ye same, & beseech you considering the waighty matters they have in all the course of their lives with wonderfull reputation managed, that you wil esteeme them not wel informed of their proceedings, that thinke them insufficient to passe through that which they undertooke, especially having gone thus far in the view of the world, through so many incombrances, & disappointed of those agreements which led them ye rather to undertake the service. But it may be you wil thinke me herein either to much opinionated of the voiage, or conceited of the Commanders, y^{t} labouring thus earnestly to advance the opinion of them both, have not so much as touched any part of the misorders, weaknes & wants that have bene amongst us, whereof they that returned did plentifully report. True it is, I have conceived a great opinion of the journey, & do thinke honorably of the Commanders: for we find in greatest antiquities, that many Commanders have bene received home with triumph for lesse merite, & that our owne countrey hath honored men heretofore with admiration for adventures unequal to this: it might therfore in those daies have seemed superfluous to extend any mans commendations by particular remembrances, for that then all men were ready to give every man his due. But I hold it most necessary in these daies, sithence every vertue findeth her direct opposite, & actions woorthy of all memory are in danger to be enviously obscured, to denounce the prayses of the action, and actors to the ful, but yet no further then with sinceritie of trueth, & not without grieving at the injury of this time, wherein is enforced

a necessitie of Apologies for those men & matters, which all former times were accustomed to entertaine with the greatest applause that might be. But to answere the reports which have bene given out in reproch of the actors and action by such as were in the same: let no man thinke otherwise, but that they, who fearing the casuall accidents of war had any purpose of returning, did first advise of some occasion that should move them thereunto: and having found any whatsoever did thinke it sufficiently just, in respect of the earnest desire they had to seeke out matter that might colour their comming home.

[I. ii. 137.] Of these there were some, who having noted the late Flemish warres did finde that many yong men have gone over and safely returned souldiers within fewe moneths, in having learned some wordes of Arte used in the warres, and thought after that good example to spend like time amongst us: which being expired they beganne to quarrell at the great mortalitie that was amongst us.

The neglect of discipline in the Armie, for that men were suffered to be drunke with the plentie of wines.

The scarsitie of Surgions.

The want of carriages for the hurt and sicke: and the penurie of victuals in the Campe:

Thereupon divining that there would be no good done: And that therefore they could be content to lose their time, and adventure to returne home againe.

These men have either conceived wel of their owne wits (who by observing the passages of the warre were become sufficient souldiers in these fewe weeks, & did long to be at home, where their discourses might be wondred at) or missing of their Portegues and Milrayes which they dreamed on in Portugall, would rather returne to their former maner of life, then attend the ende of the journey. For seeing that one hazard brought another; and that though one escaped the bullet this day it might light upon him to morow, the next day, or any day; and that the warre was not confined to

any one place, but y^t every place brought foorth new enemies, they were glad to see some of the poore souldiers fal sicke, y^t fearing to be infected by them they might justly desire to go home.

Answere to the first.

The sicknesse I confesse was great, because any is too much. But hath it bene greater then is ordinary amongst Englishmen at their first entrance into the warres, whithersoever they goe to want the fulnesse of their flesh pots? Have not ours decayed at all times in France, with eating yong fruits and drinking newe wines? have they not abundantly perished in the Low countreys with cold, and rawnesse of the aire, even in their garrisons? Have there not more died in London in sixe moneths of the plague, then double our Armie being at the strongest? And could the Spanish Armie the last yeere (who had all provisions that could be thought on for an Armie, and tooke the fittest season in the yeere for our Climate) avoyd sicknes amongst their souldiers? May it then be thought that ours could escape there, where they found inordinate heat of weather, and hot wines to distemper them withall?

But can it be, that wee have lost so many as the common sort perswade themselves wee have? It hath bene prooved by strickt examinations of our musters, that we were never in our fulnesse before our going from Plimouth 11000. souldiers, nor above 2500. Marriners. It is also evident that there returned above 6000. of all sorts, as appeareth by the severall paiments made to them since our comming home. And I have truely shewed you that of these numbers very neere 3000. forsooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof some passed into France and the rest returned home. So as we never being 13000. in all, and having brought home above 6000. with us, you may see how the world hath bene seduced, in beleeving that we have lost 16000. men by sicknes.

Answere to the second.

To them that have made question of the government of the warres (little knowing what appertaineth thereunto

in that there were so many drunkards amongst us) I answere, that in their government of shires and parishes, yea in their very housholdes, themselves can hardly bridle their vassals from that vice. For we see it is a thing almost impossible, at any your Faires or publique assemblies to finde any quarter thereof sober, or in your Townes any Alepoles unfrequented: And we observe that though any man having any disordered persons in their houses, do locke up their drinke and set Butlers upon it, that they will yet either by indirect meanes steale themselves drunke from their Masters tables, or runne abroad to seeke it. If then at home in the eyes of your Justices, Maiors, Preachers, and Masters, and where they pay for every pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor: doe they thinke that those base disordered persons whom themselves sent unto us, as living at home without rule, who hearing of wine doe long for it as a daintie that their purses could never reach to in England, and having it there without mony even in their houses where they lie & hold their guard, can be kept from being drunk; and once drunke, held in any order or tune, except we had for every drunkard an officer to attend him? But who be they that have runne into these disorders? Even our newest men, our yongest men, and our idelest men, and for the most part our slovenly prest men, whom the Justices, (who have alwayes thought unwoorthily of any warre) have sent out as the scumme and dregs of their countrey. And those were they, who distempering themselves with these hote wines, have brought in that sicknesse, which hath infected honester men then themselves. But I hope, as in other places the recoverie of their diseases doeth acquaint their bodies with the aire of the countries where they be, so the remainder of these which have either recovered, or past without sicknesse will proove most fit for Martiall services.

[II. ii. 138.] *Answere to the third.*

If we have wanted Surgeons, may not this rather be laid upon the captaines (who are to provide for their

severall Companies) then upon the Generals, whose care hath bene more generall. And how may it be thought that every captaine, upon whom most of the charges of raising their Companies was laid as an adventure, could provide themselves of all things expedient for a war, which was alwaies wont to be maintained by the purse of the prince. But admit every captaine had his Surgeon: yet were the want of curing never the lesse: for our English Surgeons (for the most part) be unexperienced in hurts that come by shot; because England hath not knowen wars but of late, from whose ignorance proceeded this discomfort, which I hope wil warne those y^t^ hereafter go to the wars to make preparation of such as may better preserve mens lives by their skill.

Answere to the fourth.

From whence the want of cariages did proceed, you may conjecture in y^t^ we marched through a countrey neither plentiful of such provisions, nor willing to part from any thing: yet this I can assure you, that no man of worth was left either hurt or sicke in any place unprovided for. And that the General commanded all the mules & asses that were laden with any baggage to be unburdened and taken to that use: and the earle of Essex and he for mony hired men to cary men upon pikes. And the earle (whose true vertue and nobilitie, as it doeth in all other his actions appeare, so did it very much in this) threw down his own stuffe, I meane apparel & necessaries which he had there, from his owne cariages, and let them be left by the way, to put hurt and sicke men upon them. Of whose honorable deservings I shall not need here to make any particular discourse, for that many of his actions do hereafter give me occasion to observe the same.

Answere to the fift.

And the great complaint that these men make for the want of victuals may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of the war; for if to feed upon good bieves, muttons & goats, be to want, they have endured great scarcitie at land, wherunto they never wanted, two daies together, wine to mixe with their water, nor bread to eat

with their meat (in some quantitie) except it were such as had vowed rather to starve then to stir out of their places for food: of whom we had too many, who if their time had served for it, might have seen in many campes in the most plentifull countries of the world for victuals, men daily die with want of bread and drinke in not having money to buy, nor the countrey yeelding any good or healthful water in any place; whereas both Spaine and Portugall do in every place affoord the best water that may be, and much more healthful then any wine for our drinking.

And although some have most injuriously exclaimed against the smal provisions of victuals for the sea, rather grounding the same upon an evil that might have fallen, then any that did light upon us: yet know you this, that there is no man so forgetfull, that will say they wanted before they came to the Groine, that whosoever made not very large provisions for himselfe & his company at the Groine, was very improvident, where was plentiful store of wine, biefe and fish, & no man of place prohibited to lay in the same into their ships, wherewith some did so furnish themselves, as they did not onely in the journey supplie the wants of such as were lesse provident then they, but in their returne home made a round commoditie of the remainder thereof. And that at Cascais there came in such store of provisions into the Fleet out of England, as no man that would have used his diligence could have wanted his due proportion thereof, as might appeare by the remainder that was returned to Plimmouth, and the plentifull sale thereof made out of the marchants ships after their comming into the Thames.

But least I should seeme unto you too studious in confuting idle opinions, or answering frivolous questions, I wil addresse me to the true report of those actions that have passed therein: wherin I protest, I will neither hide any thing that hath hapned against us, nor attribute more to any man or matter, then the just occasions thereof lead me unto: wherein it shall appeare that there hath bene

nothing left undone by the Generals which was before our going out undertaken by them, but that there hath bene much more done then was at the first required by Don Antonio, who should have reaped the fruit of our adventure.

Our men land within a mile of the Groine the 20 of April.

After 6 daies sailing from the coast of England, & the 5 after we had the wind good being the 20 of April in the evening, we landed in a baie more then an English mile from the Groine, in our long boats and pinnasses without any impeachment: from whence we presently marched toward the towne, within one halfe mile we were encountred by the enemie who being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our armie lay in the villages, houses & mils next adjoining, and very neere round about the towne, into the which the Galeon named S. John (which was the second of the last yeeres Fleet agaynst England) one hulke, two smaller ships and two Gallies which were found in the road, did beate upon us and upon our Companies as they passed too and fro that night and the next morning. Generall Norris having that morning before day viewed the Towne, found the same defended on the land side (for it standeth upon the necke of an Iland) with a wall upon a dry ditch: whereupon he resolved to trie in two places what might bee done against it by escalade, and in the meane time advised [II. ii. 139.] for the landing of some artillery to beat upon the ships and gallies, that they might not annoy us: which being put in execution, upon the planting of the first piece the gallies abandoned the road, and betooke them to Feroll, not farre from thence: and the Armada being beaten with the artillery and musketers that were placed upon the next shore, left her playing upon us. The rest of the day was spent in preparing the companies, and other provisions ready for the surprise of the base towne, which was effected in this sort.

There were appointed to be landed 1200 men under the conduct of Colonell Huntley, and Captaine Fenner the Viceadmirall, on that side next fronting us by water

in long boats and pinnesses, wherein were placed many pieces of artillery to beat upon the towne in their aproch: at the corner of the wall which defended the other water side, were appointed Captaine Richard Wingfield Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampson Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Drake to enter at low water with 500 men if they found it passable, but if not, to betake them to the escalade, for they had also ladders with them: at the other corner of the wall which joyned to that side that was attempted by water, were appointed Colonell Umpton, and Colonell Bret with 300 men to enter by escalade. All the companies which should enter by boat being imbarked before the low water, and having given the alarme, Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson betooke them to the escalade, for they had in commandement to charge all at one instant. The boats landed without any great difficulty: yet had they some men hurt in the landing. Colonell Bret and Colonell Umpton entred their quarter without encounter, not finding any defence made against them: for Captaine Hinder being one of them that entred by water, at his first entry, with some of his owne company whom he trusted well, betooke himselfe to that part of the wall, which he cleared before that they offered to enter, and so still scoured the wall till hee came on the backe of them who mainteined the fight against Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson; who were twise beaten from their ladders, and found very good resistance, till the enemies perceiving ours entred in two places at their backs, were driven to abandon the same. The reason why that place was longer defended then the other, is (as Don Juan de Luna who commanded the same affirmeth) that the enemy that day had resolved in councell how to make their defences, if they were approched: and therein concluded, that, if we attempted it by water, it was not able to be held, and therefore upon the discovery of our boats, they of the high towne should make a signall by fire from thence, that all the low towne might make their retreat thither:

but they (whether troubled with the sudden terror we brought upon them, or forgetting their decree) omitted the fire, which made them guard that place til we were entred on every side.

Then the towne being entred in three several places with an huge cry, the inhabitants betooke them to the high towne: which they might with lesse perill doe, for that ours being strangers there, knew not the way to cut them off. The rest that were not put to the sword in fury, fled to the rocks in the Iland, and others hid themselves in chambers and sellers, which were every day found out in great numbers.

Amongst those Don Juan de Luna, a man of very good commandement, having hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning yeeld himselfe.

There was also taken that night a commissary of victuals called Juan de Vera, who confessed that there were in the Groine at our entry 500 souldiers being in seven companies which returned very weake (as appeareth by the small numbers of them) from the journey of England, namely:

Under Don Juan de Luna.
- Don Diego Barran, a bastard sonne of the Marques of Santa Cruz; his company was that night in the Galeon.
- Don Antonio de Herera then at Madrid.
- Don Pedro de Manriques brother to the Earle of Paxides.
- Don Jeronimo de Mourray of the Order of S. Juan, with some of the towne were in the fort.
- Don Gomez de Caramasal then at Madrid.
- Captaine Manço Caucaso de Socas.

Also there came in that day of our landing from Retanzas the companies of Don Juan de Mosalle, and Don Pedro poure de Leon.

Also he saith that there was order given for baking of 300000 of biscuit, some in Batansas, some in Ribadeo, and the rest there.

There were then in the towne 2000 pipes of wine, and 150 in the ships.

That there were lately come unto the Marques of Seralba 300000 ducats.

That there were 1000 jarres of oile.

A great quantity of beanes, peaze, wheat, and fish.

That there were 3000 quintals of beefe.

[II. ii. 140.] And that not twenty dayes before, there came in three barks laden with match & harquebuzes.

Some others also found favour to be taken prisoners, but the rest falling into the hands of the common souldiers, had their throats cut, to the number of 500, as I conjecture, first and last, after we had entred the towne; and in the entry thereof there was found every celler full of wine, whereon our men, by inordinate drinking, both grew themselves for the present senselesse of the danger of the shot of the towne, which hurt many of them being drunke, & tooke the first ground of their sicknesse; for of such was our first and chiefest mortality. There was also abundant store of victuals, salt, and all kinde of provision for shipping and the warre: which was confessed by the sayd Commissary of victuals taken there, to be the beginning of a magasin of all sorts of provision for a new voyage into England: whereby you may conjecture what the spoile thereof hath advantaged us, and prejudiced the king of Spaine.

The next morning about eight of the clocke the enemies abandoned their ships. And having overcharged the artillery of ye gallion, left her on fire, which burnt in terrible sort two dayes together, the fire and overcharging of the pieces being so great, as of fifty that were in her, there were not above sixteene taken out whole; the rest with overcharge of the powder being broken, and molten with heat of the fire, were taken out in broken pieces into divers shippes. The same day was the cloister on the South side of the towne entred by us, which joyned very neere to the wall of the towne,

out of the chambers and other places whereof we beat into the same with our musquetiers.

The next day in the afternoone there came downe some 2000 men, gathered together out of the countrey, even to the gates of the towne, as resolutely (ledde by what spirit I know not) as though they would have entred the same: but at the first defence made by ours that had the guard there, wherein were slaine about eighteene of theirs, they tooke them to their heeles in the same disorder they made their approch, and with greater speed then ours were able to follow: notwithstanding we followed after them more then a mile. The second day Colonell Huntley was sent into the countrey with three or foure hundred men, who brought home very great store of kine and sheepe for our reliefe.

The third day in the night the Gener all had in purpose to take a long munition-house builded upon their wall, opening towards us, which would have given us great advantage against them; but they knowing the commodity thereof for us, burnt it in the beginning of the evening; which put him to a new councell: for he had likewise brought some artillery to that side of the towne. During this time there happened a very great fire in the lower end of the towne; which, had it not bene by the care of the Generals heedily seene unto, and the fury thereof prevented by pulling downe many houses which were most in danger, as next unto them, had burnt all the provisions we found there, to our woonderfull hinderance.

The fourth day were planted under the gard of the cloister two demy-canons, and two colverings against the towne, defended or gabbioned with a crosse wall, thorow the which our battery lay; the first and second tire whereof shooke all the wall downe, so as all the ordinance lay open to the enemy, by reason whereof some of the Canoniers were shot and some slaine. The Lieutenant also of the ordinance, M. Spencer, was slaine fast by Sir Edward Norris, Master thereof: whose valour being

accompanied with an honourable care of defending that trust committed unto him, never left that place, till he received direction from the Generall his brother to cease the battery, which he presently did, leaving a guard upon the same for that day; and in the night following made so good defence for the place of the battery, as after there were very few or none annoyed therein. That day Captaine Goodwin had in commandement from the Generall, that when the assault should be given to the towne, he should make a proffer of an escalade on the other side, where he held his guard: but he (mistaking the signall that should have bene given) attempted the same long before the assault, and was shot in the mouth. The same day the Generall having planted his ordinance ready to batter, caused the towne to be summoned; in which summons they of the towne shot at our Drum: immediatly after that there was one hanged over the wall, and a parle desired; wherein they gave us to understand, that the man hanged was he that shot at the Drum before: wherein also they intreated to have faire warres, with promise of the same on their parts. The rest of the parle was spent in talking of Don Juan de Luna, and some other prisoners, and somewhat of the rendring of the towne, but not much, for they listened not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris having by his skilfull view of the towne (which is almost all seated upon a rocke) found one place thereof mineable, did presently set workemen in hand withall; who after three dayes labour (and the seventh after we were entred the base towne) had bedded their powder, but indeed not farre enough into the wall. [II. ii. 141.] Against which time the breach made by the canon being thought assaultable, and companies appointed as well to enter the same, as that which was expected should be blowen up by the mine: namely, to that of the canon, Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Philpot, who lead the Generals foot-companie, with whom also Captaine Yorke went, whose principall commandment was over

the horsemen. And to that of the Myne, Captaine John Sampson, and Captaine Anthonie Wingfield Lieutenant Colonell to the Master of the Ordinance, with certaine selected out of divers Regiments. All these companies being in armes, and the assault intended to be given in al places at an instant, fire was put to the traine of the mine; but by reason the powder brake out backewards in a place where the cave was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time Captaine Hinder was sent with some chosen out of every company into the countrey for provisions, whereof he brought in good store, and returned without losse.

The next day Captaine Anthony Sampson was sent out with some 500 to fetch in provisions for the army, who was encountred by them of the countrey, but he put them to flight, and returned with good spoile. The same night the Miners were set to worke againe, who by the second day after had wrought very well into the foundation of the wall. Against which time the companies aforesayd being in readinesse for both places (Generall Drake on the other side, with two or three hundred men in pinnesses, making proffer to attempt a strong fort upon an Iland before the towne, where he left more then thirty men) fire was given to the traine of the mine, which blew up halfe the tower under which the powder was planted. The assailants having in charge upon the effecting of the mine presently to give the assault, performed it accordingly: but too soone: for having entred the top of the breach, the other halfe of the tower, which with the first force of the powder was onely shaken and made loose, fell upon our men: under which were buried about twenty or thirty, then being under that part of the tower. This so amazed our men that stood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forsooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the mine. The two Ensignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthony Wingfield

were shot in the breach, but their colours were rescued: the Generals by Captaine Sampsons Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfields by himselfe. Amongst them that the wall fell upon, was Captaine Sydenham pitifully lost; who having three or foure great stones upon his lower parts, was held so fast, as neither himselfe could stirre, nor any reasonable company recover him. Notwithstanding the next day being found to be alive, there was ten or twelve lost in attempting to relieve him.

The breach made by the canon was woonderfully well assaulted by them that had the charge thereof, who brought their men to the push of the pike at the top of the breach. And being ready to enter, the loose earth (which was indeed but the rubbish of the outside of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon slipped outwards from under their feet. Whereby did appeare halfe the wall unbattered. For let no man thinke that culverin or demy-canon can sufficiently batter a defensible rampire: and of those pieces which we had; the better of the demy-canons at the second shot brake in her carriages, so as the battery was of lesse force, being but of three pieces.

In our retreat (which was from both breaches thorow a narrow lane) were many of our men hurt: and Captaine Dolphin, who served very well that day, was hurt in the very breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, and of such as were of best judgement, was the fall of the mine; which had doubtlesse succeeded, the rather, because the approch was unlooked for by the enemy in that place, and therefore not so much defence made there as in the other; which made the Generall grow to a new resolution: for finding that two dayes battery had so little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall: he knew in his experience, there was no good to be done that way; which I thinke he first put in proofe, to trie if by that terror he could get the upper towne, having no other

way to put it in hazzard so speedily, and which in my conscience had obtained the towne, had not the defendants bene in as great perill of their lives by the displeasure of their king in giving it up, as by the bullet or sword in defending the same. For that day before the assault, in the view of our army, they burnt a cloister within the towne, and many other houses adjoyning to the castle, to make it more defensible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themselves had of holding it against us, had not God (who would not have us suddenly made proud) layed that misfortune upon us.

Hereby it may appeare, that the foure canons, and other pieces of battery promised to the journey, and not performed, might have made her Majesty mistresse of the Groine; for though the mine were infortunate, yet if the other breach had bene such as the earth would have held our men thereon, I doe not thinke but they had entred it thorowly at the first assault given: which had bene more then I have heard of in our age. And being as it was, is no more then the Prince of Parma hath in winning of all his townes [II. ii. 142.] endured, who never entred any place at the first assault, nor above three by assault.

The next day the Generall hearing by a prisoner that was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had assembled an armie of eight thousand at Puente de Burgos, sixe miles from thence in the way to Petance, which was but the beginning of an armie; in that there was a greater leavie readie to come thither under the Conde de Altemira, either in purpose to relieve the Groine, or to encampe themselves neere the place of our embarking, there to hinder the same; for to that purpose had the marquesse of Seralba written to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commissarie taken then confessed, or at the least to stop our further entrance into the Countrey, (for during this time, there were many incursions made of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, spoyled, and

brought in victuals plentifully) the Generall, I say, hearing of this armie, had in purpose the next day following to visite them, agaynst whom hee caried but nine Regiments: in the vantgard were the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidney: in the Battaile, that of the Generall, of Colonell Lane, and Colonel Medkerk: and in the Rereward, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell Brets Regiments; leaving the other five Regiments with Generall Drake, for the guard of the Cloister and Artillerie. About ten of the clocke the next day, being the sixt of May, halfe a mile from the campe, we discovering the enemy, Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the vantgard in chiefe, appointed his Lieutenant Colonell Captaine Anthonie Wingfield to command the shot of the same, who divided them into three troups; the one he appointed to Captaine Middleton to be conducted in a way on the left hand: another to Captaine Erington to take the way on the right hand, and the body of them (which were Musquetiers) Captaine Wingfield tooke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Captaine Middleton met a little before with the way held by Captaine Wingfield, so as he giving the first charge upon the enemy, was in the instant seconded by Captaine Wingfield, who beat them from place to place (they having very good places of defence, and crosse walles which they might have held long) till they betooke them to their bridge, which is over a creeke comming out of the Sea, builded of stone upon arches. On the foot of the further side whereof, lay the Campe of the enemy very strongly entrenched, who with our shot beaten to the further end of the bridge, Sir Edward Norris marching in the point of the pikes, without stay passed to the bridge, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, Captaine Hinder, Captaine Fulford, and divers others, who found the way cleare over the same, but through an incredible volley of shot; for that the shot of their army flanked

upon both sides of the bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with barrels: but they who should have guarded the same, seeing the proud approch we made, forsooke the defence of the barricade, where Sir Edward entered, and charging the first defendant with his pike, with very earnestnesse in overthrusting, fell, and was grievously hurt at the sword in the head, but was most honourably rescued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and some other gentlemen: Captaine Hinder also having his Caske shot off, had five wounds in the head and face at the sword: and Captaine Fulford was shot into the left arme at the same encounter: yet were they so thorowly seconded by the Generall, who thrust himselfe so neere to give encouragement to the attempt (which was of woonderfull difficulty) as their bravest men that defended that place being overthrowen, their whole army fell presently into rout, of whom our men had the chase three miles in foure sundry wayes, which they betooke themselves unto. There was taken the Standerd with the Kings armes, and borne before the Generall. How many two thousand men (for of so many consisted our vantgard) might kill in pursuit of foure sundry parties, so many you may imagine fell before us that day. And to make the number more great, our men having given over the execution, and returning to their standes, found many hidden in the Vineyards and hedges, which they dispatched. Also Colonell Medkerk was sent with his regiment three miles further to a Cloister, which he burnt and spoiled, wherein he found two hundred more, & put them to the sword. There were slaine in this fight on our side onely Captaine Cooper, and one private souldier; Captaine Barton was also hurt upon the bridge in the eye. But had you seene the strong baricades they had made on either side of the bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would have thought it a rare resolution of ours to give so brave a charge upon an army so strongly lodged. After the

The notable overthrow given to the Spaniards at Puente de Burgos.

furie of the execution, the Generall sent the vantgard one way, and the battell another, to burne and spoile; so as you might have seene the countrey more then three miles compasse on fire. There was found very good store of munition and victuals in the Campe, some plate and rich apparell, which the better sort left behinde, they were so hotly pursued. Our sailers also landed in an Iland next adjoyning to our ships, where they burnt and spoiled all they found. Thus we returned [II. ii. 143.] to the Groine, bringing small comfort to the enemy within the same, who shot many times at us as we marched out; but not once in our comming backe againe.

The next day was spent in shipping our artillery landed for the battery, and of the rest taken at the Groine, which had it bene such as might have given us any assurance of a better battery, or had there bene no other purpose of our journey but that, I thinke the Generall would have spent some more time in the siege of the place.

The two last nights, there were that undertooke to fire the higher towne in one place, where the houses were builded upon the wall by the water side; but they within suspecting as much, made so good defence against us, as they prevented the same. In our departure there was fire put into every house of the low towne, insomuch as I may justly say, there was not one house left standing in the base towne, or the cloister.

The next day being the eight of May, we embarked our army without losse of a man, which (had we not beaten the enemy at Puente de Burgos) had bene impossible to have done; for that without doubt they would have attempted something against us in our imbarking: as appeared by the report of the Commissary aforesayd, who confessed, that the first night of our landing the Marques of Seralba writ to the Conde de Altemira, the Conde de Andrada, and to Terneis de Santisso, to bring all the forces against us that they

could possible raise, thinking no way so good to assure that place, as to bring an army thither, wherewithall they might either besiege us in their base towne, if we should get it, or to lie betweene us and our place of imbarking, to fight with us upon the advantage; for they had above 15000 souldiers under their commandements.

After we had put from thence, we had the winde so contrary, as we could not under nine dayes recover the Burlings: in which passage on the thirteenth day the Earle of Essex, and with him M. Walter Devereux his brother (a Gentleman of woonderfull great hope) Sir Roger Williams Colonell generall of the footmen, Sir Philip Butler, who hath alwayes bene most inward with him, and Sir Edward Wingfield, came into the fleet. The Earle having put himselfe into the journey against the opinion of the world, and as it seemed to the hazzard of his great fortune, though to the great advancement of his reputation, (for as the honourable cariage of himselfe towards all men doth make him highly esteemed at home; so did his exceeding forwardnesse in all services make him to be woondered at amongst us) who, I say, put off in the same winde from Falmouth, that we left Plimmouth in, where he lay, because he would avoid the importunity of messengers that were dayly sent for his returne, and some other causes more secret to himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to land in, had bene as farre as Cadiz in Andaluzia, and lay up and downe about the South Cape, where he tooke some ships laden with corne, and brought them unto the fleet. Also in his returne from thence to meet with our fleet, he fell with the Ilands of Bayon; and on that side of the river which Cannas standeth upon, he, with Sir Roger Williams, and those Gentlemen that were with him went on shore, with some men out of the ship he was in, whom the enemy, that held guard upon that coast, would not abide, but fled up into the countrey.

The 16 day we landed at Peniche in Portugall, under the shot of the castle, and above the waste in water, more then a mile from the towne, wherein many were in perill of drowning, by reason the winde was great, and the sea went high, which overthrew one boat, wherein five and twenty of Captaine Dolphins men perished. The enemy being five companies of Spaniards under the commandement of the Conde de Fuentes, sallied out of the towne against us, and in our landing made their approch close by the water side. But the Earle of Essex with Sir Roger Williams, and his brother, having landed sufficient number to make two troups, left one to holde the way by the water side, and led the other over the Sandhils; which the enemy seeing, drew theirs likewise further into the land; not, as we conjectured, to encounter us, but indeed to make their speedy passage away: notwithstanding, they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which were sent out by the Colonell generall under Captaine Jackson, they stood the same even to the push of the pike: in which charge and at the push, Captaine Robert Piew was slaine. The enemy being fled further then we had reason to follow them, all our companies were drawen to the towne; which being unfortified in any place, we found undefended by any man against us. And therefore the Generall caused the castle to be summoned that night; which being abandoned by him that commanded it, a Portugall named Antonio de Aurid, being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that Don Antonio was landed, whereupon he would deliver the same; which he honestly performed.

Peniche taken. There was taken out of the castle some hundred shot and pikes, which Don Emanuel furnished his Portugals withall, and twenty barrels of powder: so as possessing both the towne and the castle, we rested there one day: wherein some Friers and other poore men came unto their new king, promising in the name of their country next adjoyning, that within two dayes he should have a [II. ii. 144.] good supply of horse and foote for his assistance. That

day we remained there, the Generals company of horses were unshipped.

The Generals there fully resolved, that the Armie should march over land to Lisbone under the conduct of Generall Norris; and that Generall Drake should meete him in the river therof with the Fleete; that there should be one Company of foote left in garde of the Castle, and sixe in the ships: also that the sicke & hurt should remaine there with provisions for their cures. The Generall, to trie the event of the matter by expedition, the next day beganne to march in this sort: his owne Regiment, and the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk, in the vantgard: Generall Drake, Colonell Devereux, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidneis in the battell: Sir James Hales, Sir Edward Wingfield, Colonell Umptons, Colonell Huntlies, and Colonell Brets in the arrereward. By that time our army was thus marshalled, Generall Drake, although hee were to passe by Sea, yet to make knowen the honourable desire he had of taking equall part of all fortunes with us, stood upon the ascent of an hill, by the which our battalions must of necessity march, and with a pleasing kindnesse tooke his leave severally of the Commanders of every regiment, wishing us all most happy successe in our journey over the land, with a constant promise that he would, if the injury of the weather did not hinder him, meet us in the river of Lisbon with our fleet. The want of cariages the first day was such, as they were enforced to cary their munition upon mens backs, which was the next day remedied.

In this march Captaine Crispe the Provost Marshall caused one who (contrary to the Proclamation published at our arrivall in Portugall) had broken up an house for pillage, to be hanged, with the cause of his death upon his breast, in the place where the act was committed: which good example providently given in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to

be more respectivly regarded all the journey after, by them whom feare of punishment doeth onely holde within compasse. The campe lodged that night at Lorinha: the next day we had intelligence all the way, that the enemy had made head of horse and foot against us at Torres Vedras, which we thought they would have held: but comming thither the second day of our march, not two houres before our vantgard came in, they left the towne and the castle to the possession of Don Antonio.

There began the greatest want we had of victuals, especially of bread, upon a commandement given from the Generall, that no man should spoile the countrey, or take any thing from any Portugall: which was more respectively observed, then I thinke would have bene in our owne countrey, amongst our owne friends and kindred: but the countrey (contrary to promise) wholly neglected the provision of victuals for us, whereby we were driven for that time into a great scarsity. Which mooved the Colonell generall to call all the Colonels together, and with them to advise for some better course for our people: who thought it best, first to advertise the king what necessity we were in, before we should of our selves alter the first institution of abstinence. The Colonell generall having acquainted the Generall herewith, with his very good allowance thereof, went to the king; who after some expostulations used, tooke the more carefull order for our men, and after that our army was more plentifully relieved.

The third day we lodged our army in three sundry villages, the one battalion lying in Exarama de los Cavalleros, another in Exarama do Obispo, and the third in San Sebastian.

Captaine Yorke who commanded the Generals horse company, in this march made triall of the valour of the horsemen of the enemy; who by one of his Corporals charged with eight horses thorow 40 of them, & himselfe thorow more then 200 with some forty horses: who

would abide him no longer then they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to Lores, and had divers intelligences that the enemy would tary us there: for the Cardinall had made publique promise to them of Lisbon, that he would fight with us in that place, which he might have done advantageously; for we had a bridge to passe over in the same place: but before our comming he dislodged, notwithstanding it appeared unto us that he had in purpose to encampe there; for we found the ground staked out where their trenches should have bene made: and their horsemen with some few shot shewed themselves upon an hill at our comming into that village; whom Sir Henry Norris (whose regiment had the point of the vantgard) thought to draw unto some fight, and therfore marched without sound of drumme, and somewhat faster then ordinary, thereby to get neere them before he were discovered, for he was shadowed from them by an hill that was betweene him and them: but before he could draw his companies any thing neere, they retired.

General Drakes regiment that night, for the commodity of good lodging, drew themselves into a village, more then one English mile from thence, and neere the enemy: who not daring to do any thing against us in foure dayes [II. ii. 145.] before, tooke that occasion, and in the next morning fell downe upon that regiment, crying, Viva el Rey Don Antonio, which was a generall salutation thorow all the Countrey as they came: whom our yoong Souldiers (though it were upon their guard, and before the watch were discharged) began to entertaine kindly, but having got within their guard, they fell to cut their throats: but the alarme being taken inwards, the officers of the two next Companies, whose Captaines (Captaine Sydnam and Captaine Young) were lately dead at the Groine, brought downe their colours and pikes upon them in so resolute maner, as they presently drave them to retire with losse: they killed of ours at their first entrance fourteene, and hurt sixe or seven.

The next day we lodged at Alvelana within three miles of Lisbon, where many of our souldiers drinking in two places of standing waters by the way were poisoned, and thereon presently died. Some do thinke it came rather by eating of hony, which they found in the houses plentifully. But whether it were by water or by hony, the poore men were poisoned.

That night the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams went out about eleven of the clocke with 1000 men to lie in ambuscade neere the towne, and having layed the same very neere, sent some to give the alarme unto the enemy: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the enemy refused to issue after them, so as the Earle returned assoone as it was light without doing any thing, though he had in purpose, and was ready to have given an honourable charge on them.

The 25 of May in the evening we came to the suburbs of Lisbon: at the very entrance whereof Sir Roger Williams calling Captaine Anthony Wingfield with him, tooke thirty shot or thereabouts, and first scowred all the streets till they came very neere the towne; where they found none but olde folks and beggers, crying, Viva el Rey Don Antonio, and the houses shut up: for they had caried much of their wealth into the towne, and had fired some houses by the water side, full of corne and other provisions of victuals, least we should be benefited thereby, but yet left behinde them great riches in many houses.

The foure regiments that had the vantgard that day, which were Colonell Devereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sidneys, and Generall Drakes (whom I name as they marched) the Colonell generall caused to holde guard in the neerest streets of the Suburbs: the battell and the arreward stood in armes all the night in the field neere to Alcantara. Before morning Captaine Wingfield, by direction from the Colonell generall Sir Roger Williams, held guard with Sir Edward Norris his regiment in three places very neere the towne wall, and

so held the same till the other regiments came in the morning. About midnight they within the towne burnt all their houses that stood upon their wall either within or without, least we possessing them, might thereby greatly have annoyed the towne.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted (but not without peril) to take a Church called S. Antonio, which joyned to the wall of the towne, and would have bene a very evill neighbor to the towne: but the enemy having more easie entry into it then we gained it before us. The rest of that morning was spent in quartering the battell and arrereward in the Suburbs called Bona Vista, and in placing Musquetiers in houses, to front their shot upon the wall, who from the same scowred the great streets very dangerously.

By this time our men being thorowly weary with our sixe dayes march, and the last nights watch, were desirous of rest: whereof the enemy being advertised, about one or two of the clocke sallied out of the towne, and made their approch in three severall streets upon us, but chiefly in Colonell Brets quarter: who (as most of the army was) being at rest, with as much speed as he could, drew his men into armes, and made head against them so thorowly, as himselfe was slaine in the place, Captaine Carsey shot thorow the thigh, of which hurt he died within foure dayes after, Captaine Carre slaine presently, and Captaine Cave hurt (but not mortally) who were all of his regiment.

This resistance made aswell here, as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonell Medkerk commanded, put them to a sudden foule retreat; insomuch, as the Earle of Essex had the chase of them even to the gates of the high towne, wherein they left behinde them many of their best Commanders: their troupe of horsemen also came out, but being charged by Captaine Yorke, withdrew themselves againe. Many of them also left the streets, and betooke them to houses which they found open: for the Sergeant major Captaine Wilson slew in

one house with his owne hands three or foure, and caused them that were with him to kill many others. Their losse I can assure you did triple ours, aswell in quality as in quantity.

During our march to this place, Generall Drake with the whole fleet was come into Cascais, and possessed the towne without any resistance: many of the inhabitants [II. ii. 146.] at their discovery of our navy, fledde with their baggage into the mountaines, and left the towne for any man that would possesse it, till Generall Drake sent unto them by a Portugall Pilot which he had on boord, to offer them all peaceable kindnesse, so farre foorth as they would accept of their King, and minister necessaries to the army he had brought; which offer they joyfully imbraced, and presently sent two chiefe men of their towne, to signifie their loyalty to Don Antonio, and their honest affections to our people. Whereupon the Generall landed his companies not farre from the Cloister called San Domingo, but not without perill of the shot of the castle, which being guarded with 65 Spaniards, held still against him.

As our fleet were casting ancre when they came first into that road, there was a small ship of Brasil that came from thence, which bare with them, and seemed by striking her sailes, as though she would also have ancred: but taking her fittest occasion hoised againe, and would have passed up the river, but the Generall presently discerning her purpose, sent out a pinnesse or two after her, which forced her in such sort, as she ran herselfe upon the Rocks: all the men escaped out of her, and the lading (being many chests of sugar) was made nothing woorth, by the salt water. In his going thither also, he tooke ships of the port of Portugall, which were sent from thence, with fifteene other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes Sergeant major of the same place, laden with men and victuals to Lisbon: the rest that escaped put into Setuvel.

The next day it pleased Generall Norris to call all the

Colonels together, and to advise with them, whether it were more expedient to tary there to attend the forces of the Portugall horse and foot, whereof the King had made promise, and to march some convenient number to Cascais to fetch our artillery and munition, which was all at our ships, saving that which for the necessity of the service was brought along with us: whereunto, some caried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that most part of the towne stood for us, held it best to make our abode there, and to send some 3000 for our artillery: promising to themselves, that the enemy being wel beaten the day before, would make no more sallies: some others (whose unbeliefe was very strong of any hope from the Portugall) perswaded rather to march wholly away, then to be any longer carried away with the opinion of things, whereof there was so little appearance. The Generall not willing to leave any occasion of blotte to be layed upon him for his speedy going from thence, nor to lose any more time by attending the hopes of Don Antonio; tolde them, that though the expedition of Portugall were not the onely purpose of their journey, but an adventure therein (which if it succeeded prosperously, might make them sufficiently rich, and woonderfull honourable) and that they had done so much already in triall thereof, as what end soever happened, could nothing impaire their credits: yet in regard of the Kings last promise, that he should have that night 3000 men armed of his owne Countrey, he would not for that night dislodge. And if they came, thereby to make him so strong, that he might send the like number for his munition, he would resolve to trie his fortune for the towne. But if they came not, he found it not convenient to divide his forces, by sending any to Cascais, and keeping a remainder behinde, sithence he saw them the day before so boldly sally upon his whole army, and knew that they were stronger of Souldiours armed within the towne, then he was without: and that before our returne could be from Cascais, they expected more

supplies from all places, of Souldiours: for the Duke of Bragança, and Don Francisco de Toledo were looked for with great reliefe. Whereupon his conclusion was, that if the 3000 promised came not that night, to march wholly away the next morning.

It may be here demanded, why a matter of so great moment should be so slenderly regarded, as that the Generall should march with such an army against such an enemy, before he knew either the fulnesse of his owne strength, or certaine meanes how he should abide the place when he should come to it. Wherein I pray you remember the Decrees made in the Councell at Peniche, and confirmed by publique protestation the first day of our march, that our navy should meet us in the river of Lisbon, in the which was the store of all our provisions, and so the meane of our tariance in that place, which came not, though we continued till we had no munition left to entertaine a very small fight. We are also to consider, that the King of Portugall (whether carried away with imagination by the advertisements he received from the Portugals, or willing by any promise to bring such an army into his Countrey, thereby to put his fortune once more in triall) assured the Generall, that upon his first landing, there would be a revolt of his subjects: whereof there was some hope given at our first entry to Peniche, by the maner of the yeelding of that towne and fort, which made the Generall thinke it most convenient speedily to march to the principall place, thereby to give courage to the rest of the Countrey. The Friers also and the poore people that came unto him promised, that within two dayes the gentlemen and others of the Countrey would come plentifully in: within which two
[II. ii. 147.] dayes came many more Priests, and some very few gentlemen on horsebacke; but not til we came to Torres Vedras: where they that noted the course of things how they passed, might somewhat discover the weaknesse of that people. There they tooke two dayes

more; and at the end thereof referred him till our comming to Lisbon, with assurance, that so soone as our army should be seene there, all the inhabitants would be for the King and fall upon the Spaniards.

After two nights tariance at Lisbon, the King, as you have heard, promised a supply of 3000 foot, and some horse: but all his appointments being expired, even to the last of a night, all his horse could not make a cornet of 40, nor his foot furnish two ensignes fully, although they caried three or foure colours: and these were altogether such as thought to inrich themselves by the ruine of their neighbours: for they committed more disorders in every place where we came by spoile, then any of our owne.

The Generall, as you see, having done more then before his comming out of England was required by the King, and given credit to his many promises, even to the breach of the last, he desisted not to perswade him to stay yet nine dayes longer: in which time he might have engaged himselfe further, then with any honour he could come out of againe, by attempting a towne fortified, wherein were more men armed against us, then we had to oppugne them withall, our artillery and munition being fifteene miles from us, and our men then declining; for there was the first shew of any great sickenesse amongst them. Whereby it seemeth, that either his prelacy did much abuse him in perswading him to hopes, whereof after two or three dayes he saw no semblance: or he like a silly lover, who promiseth himselfe favor by importuning a coy mistresse, thought by our long being before his towne, that in the end taking pity on him, they would let him in.

What end the Friers had by following him with such devotion, I know not, but sure I am, the Laity did respite their homage till they might see which way the victory would sway; fearing to shew themselves apparantly unto him, least the Spaniard should after our departure (if we prevailed not) call them to account: yet

sent they under hand messages to him of obedience, thereby to save their owne, if he became King; but indeed very well contented to see the Spaniards and us try by blowes, who should carry away the crowne. For they be of so base a mould, as they can very wel subject themselves to any government, where they may live free from blowes, and have liberty to become rich, being loth to endure hazzard either of life or goods. For durst they have put on any minds thorowly to revolt, they had three woonderfull good occasions offered them during our being there.

Themselves did in generall confesse, that there were not above 5000 Spaniards in that part of the Countrey, of which number the halfe were out of the towne till the last day of our march: during which time, how easily they might have prevailed against the rest, any man may conceive. But upon our approch they tooke them all in, and combined themselves in generall to the Cardinall.

The next day after our comming thither, when the sally was made upon us by their most resolute Spaniards, how easily might they have kept them out, or have given us the gate which was held for their retreat, if they had had any thought thereof?

And two dayes after our comming to Cascais, when 6000 Spaniards and Portugals came against us as farre as S. Julians by land, as you shal presently heare (all which time I thinke there were not many Spaniards left in the towne) they had a more fit occasion to shew their devotion to the King, then any could be offered by our tarying there. And they could not doubt, that if they had shut them out, but that we would have fought with them upon that advantage, having sought them in Galitia upon disadvantage to beat them: and having taken so much paines to seeke them at their owne houses, whereof we gave sufficient testimony in the same accident. But I thinke the feare of the Spaniard had taken so deepe impression within them, as they durst not attempt any thing against them upon any hazzard.

For, what civill countrey hath ever suffered themselves to be conquered by so few men as they were; to be deprived of their naturall King, and to be tyrannized over thus long, but they? And what countrey, living in slavery under a stranger whom they naturally hate, having an army in the field to fight for them and their liberty, would lie still with the yoke upon their necks, attending if any strangers would unburthen them, without so much as rousing themselves under it, but they? They will promise much in speeches, for they be great talkers, whom the Generall had no reason to distrust without triall, and therefore marched on into their countrey: but they performed little in action, whereof we could have had no proofe without this thorow triall. Wherein he hath discovered their weaknesse, and honorably performed more then could be in reason expected of him: which had he not done, would not these maligners, who seeke occasions of slander, have reported [II. ii. 148.] him to be suspicious of a people, of whose infidelity he had no testimony: and to be fearefull without cause, if he had refused to give credit to their promises without any adventure? Let no frivolous questionist therefore further enquire why he marched so many dayes to Lisbon, and taried there so small a while.

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, he gave order for our marching away; himselfe, the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams remaining with the stand that was made in the high street, till the whole army was drawen into the field, and so marched out of the towne, appointing Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthony Wingfield in the arrereward of them with the shot; thinking that the enemy (as it was most likely) would have issued out upon our rising; but they were otherwise advised. When we were come into the field, every battalion fell into that order which by course appertained unto them, and so marched that night unto Cascais. Had we marched thorow his Countrey as enemies, our Souldiours had beene well

supplied in all their wants: but had we made enemies of the Suburbs of Lisbon, we had beene the richest army that ever went out of England: for besides the particular wealth of every house, there were many Warehouses by the water side full of all sorts of rich marchandizes.

In our march that day the gallies which had somewhat, but not much, annoyed us at Lisbon, (for that our way lay along the river) attended us till we were past S. Julians, bestowing many shot amongst us, but did no harme at all, saving that they strooke off a gentlemans leg, & killed the Sergeant majors moile under him. The horsemen also followed us afarre off, and cut off as many sicke men as were not able to holde in march, nor we had cariage for.

After we had bene two dayes at Cascais, we had intelligence by a Frier, that the enemy was marching strongly towards us, and then came as farre as S. Julian: which newes was so welcome to the Earle of Essex and the Generals, as they offered every one of them to give the messenger an hundred crownes if they found them in the place; for the Generall desiring nothing more then to fight with them in field roome, dispatched that night a messenger with a trumpet, by whom he writ a cartell to the Generall of their army, wherein he gave them the lie, in that it was by them reported that we dislodged from Lisbon in disorder and feare of them (which indeed was most false) for that it was five of the clocke in the morning before we fell into armes, and then went in such sort, as they had no courage to follow out upon us. Also he challenged him therein, to meet him the next morning with his whole army, if he durst attend his comming, and there to try out the justnesse of their quarrel by battell: by whom also the Earle of Essex (who preferring the honor of the cause, which was his countreys, before his owne safety) sent a particular cartel, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his quality; or if they would not

admit of that; sixe, eight, or tenne, or as many as they would appoint, should meet so many of theirs in the head of our battell to trie their fortunes with them; and that they should have assurance of their returne and honourable intreaty.

The Generall accordingly made all his army ready by three of the clocke in the morning and marched even to the place where they had encamped, but they were dislodged in the night in great disorder, being taken with a sudden feare that we had bene come upon them, as the Generall was the next day certainely informed: so as the Trumpet followed them to Lisbon, but could not get other answere to either of his letters, but threatening to be hanged, for daring to bring such a message. Howbeit the Generall had caused to be written upon the backside of their pasport, that if they did offer any violence unto the messengers, he would hang the best prisoners he had of theirs: which made them to advise better of the matter, and to returne them home; but without answere.

After our army came to Cascais, and the castle summoned, the Castellan thereof granted, that upon five or sixe shot of the canon he would deliver the same, but not without sight thereof. The Generall thinking that his distresse within had bene such for want of men or victuals as he could not holde it many dayes, because he saw it otherwise defensible enough, determined rather to make him yeeld to that necessity, then to bring the cannon, and therefore onely set a guard upon the same, least any supply of those things which he wanted should be brought unto them. But he still standing upon those conditions, the Generall about two dayes before he determined to goe to Sea, brought three or foure pieces of battery against it: upon the first tire whereof he surrendered, and compounded to go away with his baggage and armies; he had one canon, two culverings, one basiliske, and three or foure other field pieces, threescore and five Souldiours, very good store of munition,

and victualles enough in the Castle; insomuch as he might have held the same longer then the Generall had in purpose to tarry there. One company of footmen was put into the guard thereof, till the artillery was taken
[II. ii. 149.] out, and our army embarked; which without having that fort, we could not without great perill have done. When we were ready to set saile (one halfe of the fort being by order from the Generall blowen up by mine) the company was drawne away.

During the time we lay in the road, our fleet began the second of June, and so continued sixe dayes after to fetch in some hulks to the number of threescore, of Dansik, Stetin, Rostock, Lubeck & Hamburgh, laden with Spanish goods, and as it seemed for the kings provision, and going for Lisbon: their principall lading was Corne, Masts, Cables, Copper, and Waxe: amongst which were some of great burthen woonderful well builded for sailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought that they were brought for the kings provision, to reinforce his decayed navy: whereof there was the greater likelyhood, in that the owner of the greatest of them which caried two misnes, was knowen to be very inward with the Cardinall, who rather then he would be taken with his ships, committed himselfe unto his small boat, wherein he recovered S. Sebastians: into the which our men, that before were in flieboats, were shipped, and the flieboats sent home with an offer of corne, to the value of their hire. But the winde being good for them for Rochel, they chose rather to lose their corne then the winde, and so departed. The Generall also sent his horses with them, and from thence shipped them into England.

The third of June, Colonell Devereux and Colonell Sidney, being both very sicke, departed for England, who in the whole journey had shewed themselves very forward to all services, and in their departure very unwilling to leave us: that day we imbarked all our army, but lay in the road untill the eight thereof.

The sixt day the Earle of Essex, upon receit of letters from her Majesty, by them that brought in the victuals, presently departed towards England, with whom Sir Roger Williams was very desirous to go, but found the Generals very unwilling he should do so, in that he bare the next place unto them, and if they should miscarry, was to command the army. And the same day there came unto us two small barks that brought tidings of some other shippes come out of England with victuals, which were passed upwards to the Cape: for meeting with whom, the second day after we set saile for that place, in purpose after our meeting with them to go with the Iles of Açores, the second day, which was the ninth, we met with them comming backe againe towards us, whose provision little answered our expectation. Notwithstanding we resolved to continue our course for the Ilands.

About this time was the Marchant-Royall, with three or foure other ships, sent to Peniche, to fetch away the companies that were left there; but Captaine Barton having received letters from the Generals that were sent overland, was departed before, not being able by reason of the enemies speedy marching thither, either to bring away the artillery, or all his men, according to the direction those letters gave him; for he was no sooner gone, then the enemy possessed the town and castle, and shot at our ships as they came into the road.

At this time also was the Ambassador from the Emperor of Marocco, called Reys Hamet Bencasamp, returned, and with him M. Ciprian, a Gentleman of good place and desert, was sent from Don Antonio, and Captaine Ousley from the Generals to the Emperor.

The next morning the nine gallies which were sent not five dayes before out of Andaluzia for the strengthening of the river of Lisbon (which being joyned with the other twelve that were there before, though we lay hard by them at S. Julians, durst never make any attempt against us) upon our departure from thence were return-

ing home, and in the morning being a very dead calme, in the dawning thereof, fell in the winde of our fleet, in the uttermost part whereof they assailed one stragling barke of Plimmouth, of the which Captaine Caverley being Captaine of the land company, with his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Mariners abandoned the ship, and betooke them to the ship-boats, whereof one, in which the Master and the Captaine were, was over-runne with the gallies, and they drowned. There were also two hulks stragled farre from the strength of the other ships, which were so calmed, as neither they could get to us, nor we to them, though all the great shippes towed with their boats to have relieved them, but could not be recovered; in one of which was Captaine Minshaw with his company, who fought with them to the last, yea after his ship was on fire, which whether it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not wel discerne, but might easily judge by his long and good fight, that the enemy could not but sustaine much losse: who setting also upon one other hulke wherein was but a Lieutenant, and he very sicke, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off, although they had first beaten her with their artillery, and attempted to boord her. And seeing also one other hulke a league off, a sterne off us, they made towards her: but finding that she made ready to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her: whereby it seemed, their losse being great in the other fights, they were loth to proceed any further.

[II. ii. 150.] From that day till the 19 of June, our direction from the Generall was, that if the wind were Northerly, we should plie for the Açores; but if Southerly, for the Iles of Bayon. We lay with contrary windes about that place and the Rocke, till the Southerly winde prevailing carried us to Bayon: part of our ships to the number of 25, in a great winde which was two dayes before, having lost the Admirals and fleet, according to their direction, fell in the morning of that day with Bayon, among whom was Sir Henry Norris in the Ayde; who had in purpose

(if the Admirals had not come in) with some 500 men out of them all to have landed, and attempted the taking of Vigo. The rest of the fleet held with Generall Drake, who though he were two dayes before put upon those Ilands, cast off againe to sea for the Açores: but remembring how unprovided he was for that journey and seeing that he had lost company of his great ships, returned for Bayon, and came in there that night in the evening, where he passed up the river more then a mile above Vigo.

The next morning we landed as many as were able to fight, which were not in the whole above 2000 men, (for in the 17 dayes we continued on boord we had cast many of our men overboord) with which number the Colonell generall marched to the towne of Vigo, neere the which when he approched, he sent Captaine Anthony Wingfield with a troupe of shot to enter one side of the same, who found upon every streets end a strong barricade, but altogether abandoned; for having entred the towne, he found but one man therein, but might see them making way before him to Bayon. On the other side of the towne entred Generall Drake with Captaine Richard Wingfield, whose approch on that side (I thinke) made them leave the places they had so artificially made for defence: there were also certaine shippes sent with the Vice-admirall to lie close before the towne, to beat upon the same with their artillery. *Vigo taken.*

In the afternoone were sent 300 under the conduct of Captaine Petuin and Captaine Henry Poure, to burne another village betwixt that and Bayon, called Borsis, and as much of the country as the day would give them leave to do; which was a very pleasant rich valley: but they burnt it all, houses and corne, as did others on the other side of the towne, both that and the next day, so as the countrey was spoiled seven or eight miles in length. There was found great store of wine in the towne, but not any thing els: for the other dayes warning of

the shippes that came first in, gave them a respit to cary all away.

The next morning by breake of the day the Colonell generall (who in the absence of the Generals that were on boord their ships, commanded that night on shore) caused all our companies to be drawen out of the towne, and sent in two troups to put fire in every house of the same: which done, we imbarked againe.

Vigo burned.

This day there were certaine Mariners which (without any direction) put themselves on shore, on the contrary side of the river from us for pillage; who were beaten by the enemy from their boats, and punished by the Generals for their offer, in going without allowance.

The reasons why we attempted nothing against Bayon were before shewed to be want of artillery, and may now be alledged to be the small number of our men: who should have gone against so strong a place, manned with very good souldiers, as was shewed by Juan de Vera taken at the Groine, who confessed that there were sixe hundred olde Souldiers in garrison there of Flanders, and the Tercios of Naples, lately also returned out of the journey of England.

Under the leading of
- Capitan Puebla,
- Christofero Vasques de Viralta a souldier of Flanders.
- Don Pedro Camascho, del tercio de Napoles.
- Don Francisco de Cespedes.
- Cap. Juan de Solo, del tercio de Naples.
- Don Diego de Cassava.
- Cap. Sauban.

Also he sayth there be 18 pieces of brasse, and foure of yron, lately layed upon the walles of the towne, besides them that were there before.

The same day the Generals seeing what weake estate our army was drawn into by sicknesse, determined to man and victuall twenty of the best ships for the Ilands of Açores with Generall Drake, to see if he could meet with the Indian fleet, and Generall Norris to returne

home with the rest: And for the shifting of men and victualles accordingly, purposed the next morning to fall downe to the Ilands of Bayon againe, and to remaine there that day. But Generall Drake, according to their apointment, being under saile never strooke at the Ilands, but put straight to sea; whom all the fleet followed saving three and thirty, which being in the river further then he, and at the entrance out of the same, finding the winde and tide too hard against them, were inforced to cast ancre there for that night; amongst whom, by good fortune, was the Foresight, and in her sir Edward Norris. [II. ii. 151.] And the night folowing, Generall Norris being driven from the rest of the Fleet by a great storme, (for all that day was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came againe into the Ilands, but not without great perill, he being forced to trust to a Spanish Fisher-man (who was taken two dayes before at sea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a council of as many as he found there, holding the purpose he had concluded with sir Francis Drake the day before, and directed all their courses for England, tarying there all that day to water and helpe such with victuall, as were left in wonderfull distresse by having the victuals that came last, caried away the day before to sea.

Their returne to Plimmouth.

The next day he set saile, and the 10 day after, which was the 2 of July came into Plimmouth, where he found sir Francis Drake and all the Queens ships, with many of the others but not all: for the Fleet was dispersed into other harbors, some led by a desire of returning from whence they came, and some being possessed of the hulks, sought other Ports from their Generals eie, where they might make their private commoditie of them, as they have done to their great advantage.

Presently upon their arrivall there, the Generals dissolved all the armie saving 8 companies which are yet held together, giving every souldier five shillings in money, and the armes hee bare to make money of, which

was more then could by any means be due unto them: for they were not in service three moneths, in which time they had their victuals, which no man will value at lesse then halfe their pay, for such is the allowance in her majesties ships to her mariners, so as there remained but 10 shillings a moneth more to be paid, for which there was not any private man but had apparel and furniture to his owne use, so as every common souldier discharged, received more in money, victuals, apparell and furniture, then his pay did amount unto.

Notwithstanding, there be even in the same place where those things have passed, that either do not or will not conceive the souldiers estate, by comparing their povertie and the shortnesse of the time together, but lay some injuries upon the Generals and the action. Where, and by the way, but especially here in London, I find there have bene some false prophets gone before us, telling strange tales. For as our countrey doeth bring foorth many gallant men, who desirous of honour doe put themselves into the actions thereof, so doeth it many more dull spirited, who though their thoughts reach not so high as others, yet doe they listen how other mens acts doe passe, and either beleeving what any man will report unto them, are willingly caried away into errors, or tied to some greater mans faith, become secretaries against a noted trueth. The one sort of these doe take their opinions from the high way side, or at the furthest goe no further then Pauls to enquire what hath bene done in this voiage: where, if they meet with any, whose capacitie before their going out could not make them live, nor their valour maintaine their reputation, and who went onely for spoile, complaining on the hardnesse and misery thereof, they thinke they are bound to give credite to these honest men who were parties therein, and in very charitie become of their opinions. The others to make good the faction they are entred into, if they see any of those malecontents (as every journey yeeldeth some) doe runne unto them like tempting spirits

to confirme them in their humour, with assurance that they foresaw before our going out what would become thereof.

Be ye not therefore too credulous in beleeving every report: for you see there have bene many more beholders of these things that have passed, then actors in the same; who by their experience, not having the knowledge of the ordinarie wants of the warre, have thought, that to lie hard, not to have their meat well dressed, to drinke sometimes water, to watch much, or to see men die and be slaine, was a miserable thing; and not having so given their mindes to the service, as they are any thing instructed thereby, doe for want of better matter discourse ordinarily of these things: whereas the journey (if they had with that judgement seene into it, which their places required) hath given them far more honorable purpose and argument of discourse.

These mens discontentments and mislikings before our comming home have made mee labour thus much to instruct you in the certaintie of every thing, because I would not willingly have you miscaried in the judgements of them, wherein you shall give me leave somewhat to dilate upon a question, which I onely touched in the beginning of my letter, namely, whether it bee more expedient for our estate to maintain an offensive war against the king of Spaine in the Low countries, or as in this journey, to offend him in his neerer territories, seeing the grounds of arguing thereof are taken from the experience which the actions of this journey have given us.

A worthy question dilated.

There is no good subject that wil make question, whether it be behoofeful for us to hold friendship with these neighbours of ours or no, aswell in respect of the infinite proportion of their shipping, which must stand either with us or against us; as of the commoditie of their harbors, especially that of Vlishing, by the favour whereof our Navie may continually keepe the Narrow

seas, and which would harbour a greater Fleete agaynst us, then the Spaniard shall need to annoy us withall, who being now distressed by our common enemie, I thinke it [II. ii. 152.] most expedient for our safetie to defend them, and if it may be, to give them a reentrie into that they have of late yeeres lost unto him. The one without doubt her majestie may do without difficultie, and in so honorable sort as he shal never be able to dispossesse her or them of any the townes they now hold. But if any man thinke that the Spaniard may be expelled from thence more speedily or conveniently by keeping an armie there, then by sending one against him into his owne countrey: let him foresee of how many men and continuall supplies that armie must consist, and what intollerable expenses it requireth. And let him thinke by the example of the duke of Alva, when the prince of Orenge had his great armie agaynst him; and of Don Juan, when the States had their mightie assembly against him, how this wise enemie, with whom we are to deale, may but by prolonging to fight with us, leave us occasions enough for our armie within few moneths to mutine and breake; or by keeping him in his townes leave us a spoyled field: where though our provision may bee such of our owne as we starve not, yet is our weaknesse in any strange countrey such, as with sicknes and miserie we shall be dissolved. And let him not forget what a continual burthen we hereby lay upon us, in that to repossesse those countreys which have been lately lost, wil be a warre of longer continuance then we shall be able to endure.

In the very action whereof, what should hinder the king of Spaine to bring his forces home unto us? For it is certaine he hath long since set downe in councell, that there is no way for him wholy to recover those Low countries, but by bringing the warre upon England it selfe, which hath alwayes assisted them against him: and that being determined, and whereunto he hath bene vehemently urged by the last yeeres losse he sustained

upon our coasts, and the great dishonor this journey hath laid upon him; no doubt if we shall give him respite to doe it, but he will mightily advance his purpose, for he is richly able thereunto, and wonderfull desirous of revenge.

To encounter wherewith, I wish even in true and honest zeale to my Countrey, that we were all perswaded that there is no such assured meanes for the safetie of our estate, as to busy him with a well furnished armie in Spaine, which hath so many goodly Bayes open, as we may land without impeachment as many men as shall be needfull for such an invasion. And having an armie of 20000 roially furnished there, we shall not need to take much care for their payment: for shal not Lisbon be thought able to make so few men rich, when the Suburbs thereof were found so abounding in riches, as had we made enemie of them, they had largely enriched us all? Which with what small losse it may be won, is not here to shew; but why it was not won by us, I have herein shewed you. Or is not the spoyle of Sivil sufficient to pay more then shall bee needfull to bee sent against it, whose defence (as that of Lisbone) is onely force of men, of whom how many may for the present be raised, is not to be esteemed, because wee have discovered what kind of men they be, even such as will never abide ours in field, nor dare withstand any resolute attempt of ours agaynst them: for during the time we were in many places of their countrey, they cannot say that ever they made 20 of our men turne their faces from them. And be there not many other places of lesse difficultie to spoyle, able to satisfie our forces?

But admit, that if upon this alarme that we have given him, he tendering his naturall and neerest soile before his further remmooved off governments, do draw his forces of old souldiers out of the Low countreys for his owne defence, is not the victory then won by drawing and holding them from thence, for the which we should have kept an armie there at a charge by many partes greater then this, and not stirred them?

Admit further our armie be impeached from landing there, yet by keeping the Sea, and possessing his principall roades, are we not in possibilitie to meet with his Indian marchants, and very like to prevent him of his provisions comming out of the East countreys; without the which, neither the subject of Lisbon is long able to live, nor the king able to maintaine his Navie? For though the countrey of Portugall doe some yeeres find themselves corne, yet are they never able to victuall the least part of that Citie. And albeit the king of Spaine be the richest prince in Christendome, yet can he neither draw cables, hewe mastes, nor make pouder out of his mettals, but is to be supplied of them all from thence. Of whom (some will hold opinion) it is no reason to make prize, because they bee not our enemies: and that our disagreeance with them will impeach the trade of our marchants, and so impoverish our countrey. Of whose mind I can hardly be drawen to be: For if my enemie fighting with me doe breake his sword, so as I thereby have the advantage against him; what shall I thinke of him that putteth a new sword into his hand to kill me withall? And may it not bee thought more fitting for us in these times to loose our trades of Cloth, then by suffering these mischiefes, to put in hazard whether we shall have a countrey left to make cloth in or no? And yet though neither Hamburgh, Embden, nor Stode doe receive our cloth, the necessary use thereof in all places is such, as they will find means to take it from us with our sufficient commoditie.

[II. ii. 153.] And admit (which were impossible) that we damnifie him neither at sea nor land (for unlesse it be with a much more mightie armie then ours, he shall never be able to withstand us) yet shall we by holding him at his home, free our selves from the warre at our owne wals: the benefit whereof let them consider that best can judge, and have observed the difference of invading, and being invaded; the one giving courage to the souldier, in that it doeth set before him commoditie and reputation; the other a

fearefull terror to the countrey-man, who if by chance he play the man yet is he never the richer: and who knowing many holes to hide himselfe in, will trie them all before he put his life in perill by fighting: whereas the Invader casteth up his account before hee goeth out, and being abroad must fight to make himselfe way, as not knowing what place or strength to trust unto. I will not say what I observed in our countrey-men when the enemy offred to assaile us here: but I wish that all England knew what terror we gave to the same people that frighted us, by visiting them at their owne houses.

Were not Alexanders fortunes great against the mightie Darius, onely in that his Macedonians thirsted after the wealth of Persia, and were bound to fight it out to the last man, because the last man knew no safer way to save himselfe then by fighting? Whereas the Persians either trusting to continue stil masters of their wealth by yeelding to the Invader, began to practise against their owne king: or having more inward hopes, did hide themselves even to the last, to see what course the Conquerour would take in his Conquest. And did not the advise of Scipio, though mightily impugned at the first, proove very sound and honourable to his countrey? Who seeing the Romans wonderfully amazed at the neerenesse of their enemies Forces, and the losses they daily sustained by them, gave counsell rather by way of diversion to cary an army into Afrike, and there to assaile, then by a defensive warre at home to remaine subject to the common spoiles of an assailing enemie. Which being put in execution drew the enemie from the gates of Rome, and Scipio returned home with triumph: albeit his beginnings at the first were not so fortunate against them, as ours have bene in this smal time against the Spaniard. The good successe whereof may encourage us to take armes resolutely against him. And I beseech God it may stirre up all men that are particularly interested therein, to bethinke themselves how small a matter will assure them of their safetie, by holding the Spaniard at a Baie, so farre off:

whereas, if we give him leave quietly to hatch and bring foorth his preparations, it will be with danger to us all.

He taketh not armes against us by any pretense of title to the crowne of this realme, nor led altogether with an ambicious desire to command our countrey, but with hatred towards our whole Nation and religion. Her majesties Scepter is already given by Bull to another, the honours of our Nobilitie are bestowed for rewards upon his attendants, our Clergie, our Gentlemen, our Lawyers, yea all men of what condition soever are offered for spoyle unto the common souldier. Let every man therefore, in defence of the libertie and plentie he hath of long enjoyed, offer a voluntarie contribution of the smallest part of their store for the assurance of the rest. It were not much for every Justice of peace, who by his blew coat protecteth the properest and most serviceable men at every muster from the warres, to contribute the charge that one of these idle men doe put him to for one yeere: nor for the Lawyer, who riseth by the dissensions of his neighbours, to take but one yeeres gifts (which they call Fees) out of his coffers. What would it hinder every officer of the Exchequer, and other of her Majesties courts, who without checke doe suddenly grow to great wealth, honestly to bring foorth the mysticall commoditie of one yeeres profits? Or the Clergie, who looke precisely for the Tenths of every mans increase, simply to bring forth the Tenth of one yeeres gathering, and in thankfulnesse to her Majestie, (who hath continued for all our safeties a most chargeable warre both at land & sea) bestow the same for her honor & their owne assurance, upon an army which may make this bloody enemy so to know himselfe and her Majesties power, as he shall bethinke him what it is to moove a stirring people? Who, though they have received some small checke by the sicknesse of this last journey, yet doubt I not, but if it were made knowen, that the like voyage were to bee supported by a generalitie, (that might and would beare the charge of

a more ample provision) but there would of all sortes most willingly put themselves into the same: some caried with an honorable desire to be in action, and some in love of such would affectionately folow their fortunes; some in thirsting to revenge the death and hurts of their brethren, kinred, and friends: and some in hope of the plentifull spoyles to be found in those countreys, having bene there already and returned poore, would desire to goe againe, with an expectation to make amends for the last: and all, in hatred of that cowardly proud Nation, and in contemplation of the true honour of our owne, would with courage take armes to hazard their lives agaynst them, whom every good Englishman is in nature bound to hate as an implacable enemie to England, thirsting after our blood, and labouring to ruine our land, with hope to bring us under the yoke of perpetuall slaverie.

Against them is true honour to be gotten, for that we [II. ii. 154.] shall no sooner set foot in their land, but that every step we tread will yeeld us new occasion of action, which I wish the gallantrie of our Countrey rather to regard then to folow those soft unprofitable pleasures wherein they now consume their time and patrimonie. And in two or three townes of Spaine is the welth of all Europe gathered together, which are the Magasins of the fruits and profits of the East and West Indies, whereunto I wish our yong able men, who, (against the libertie they are borne unto) terme themselves Serving men, rather to bend their desires and affections, then to attend their double liverie and 40 shillings by the yeere wages, and the reversion of the old Copy-hold, for carying a dish to their masters table. But let me here reprehend my selfe and crave pardon for entring into a matter of such state and consequence, the care whereof is already laid upon a most grave and honorable counsell, who wil in their wisdoms foresee the dangers that may be threatned agaynst us. And why do I labour to disquiet the securitie of these happy gentlemen, & the trade of those

honest serving men, by perswading them to the warres when I see the profession thereof so slenderly esteemed? For though all our hope of peace be frustrate, and our quarels determinable by the sword: though our enemy hath by his owne forces and his pensionaries industry, confined the united Provinces into a narow roume, & almost disunited the same: if he be now in a good way to harbor himselfe in the principall havens of France, from whence he may front us at pleasure: yea though we are to hope for nothing but a bloodie warre, nor can trust to any helpe but Armes; yet how far the common sort are from reverencing or regarding any persons of conduction, was too apparant in the returne of this our journey, wherein the base and common souldier hath bene tollerated to speake against the Captaine, and the souldier and Captaine against the Generals, and wherein mechanicall and men of base condicion doe dare to censure the doings of them, of whose acts they be not woorthy to talke.

The ancient grave degree of the Prelacie is upheld, though Martin raile never so much, & the Lawyer is after the old maner worshipped, whosoever inveigh against him. But the ancient English honour is taken from our men of war, & their profession in disgrace, though never so necessary. Either we commit idolatry to Neptune, and will put him alone stil to fight for us as he did the last yeere, or we be inchanted with some divelish opinions, that travell nothing more then to diminish the reputation of them, upon whose shoulders the burden of our defence against the enemie must lie when occasion shall be offred. For whensoever he shall set foote upon our land, it is neither the preaching of the Clergie that can turne him out againe, nor the pleading of any Lawyers that can remoove him out of possession: no, then they will honour them whom now they thinke not on, and then must those men stand betweene them and their perils, who are now thought unwoorthy of any estimation.

May the burning of one towne (which cost the king then being six times as much as this hath done her majestie, wherein were lost seven times as many men as in any one service of this journey, and taried not the tenth part of our time in the enemies Countrey) be by our elders so highly reputed and sounded out by the historie of the Realme; and can our voyage be so meanly esteemed, wherein we burned both townes and Countreys without the losse of fortie men in any such attempt?

Did our kings in former times reward some with the greatest titles of honour for overthrowing a number of poore Scots, who, after one battell lost, were never able to reenforce themselves against him; and shall they in this time who have overthrowen our mightie enemie in battell, and taken his roiall Standerd in the field, besieged the marquesse of Saralba 15 dayes together, that should have bene the Generall of the Armie against us, brought away so much of his artillarie (as I have before declared) be unwoorthily esteemed of?

Is it possible that some in some times should receive their reward for looking upon an enemie, and ours in this time not receive so much as thanks for having beaten an enemie at handie strokes?

But it is true that no man shall bee a prophet in his Countrey: and for my owne part I will lay aside my Armes till that profession shal have more reputation, and live with my friends in the countrey, attending either some more fortunate time to use them, or some other good occasion to make me forget them.

But what? shall the blind opinion of this monster, a beast of many heads, (for so hath the generalitie of old bene termed) cause me to neglect the profession from whence I chalenge some reputation, or diminish my love to my countrey, which hitherto hath nourished me? No, it was for her sake I first tooke armes, and for her sake I will handle them so long as I shall be able to use them: not regarding how some men in private con-

venticles do measure mens estimations by their owne humors; nor how every popular person doeth give
[II. ii. 155.] sentence on every mans actions by the worst accidents. But attending the gracious aspect of our dread Soveraigne, who never yet left vertue unrewarded: and depending upon the justice of her most rare and grave advisors, who by their heedie looking into every mans worth, do give encouragement to the vertuous to exceed others in vertue: and assuring you that there shall never any thing happen more pleasing unto me, then that I may once againe bee a partie in some honorable journey against the Spaniard in his owne countrey, I will cease my complaint: and with them that deserve beyond me, patiently endure the unadvised censure of our malicious reproovers.

If I have seemed in the beginning hereof troublesome unto you, in the discovering of those impediments, and answering the slanders which by the vulgar malicious and mutinous sort are laid as blemishes upon the journey, and reproches upon the Generals (having indeed proceeded from other heads:) let the necessitie of conserving the reputation of the action in generall, & the honors of our Generals in particular, bee my sufficient excuse: the one having by the vertue of the other made our country more dreaded & renowmed, then any act that ever England undertooke before. Or if you have thought my perswasible discourse long in the latter end; let the affectionate desire of my countreys good be therein answerable for me. And such as it is I pray you accept it, as only recommended to your selfe, and not to be delivered to the publique view of the world, least any man take offence thereat: which some particular men may seeme justly to do, in that having deserved very well, I should not herein give them their due commendations: whereas my purpose in this private discourse hath bene onely to gratifie you with a touch of those principall matters that have passed, wherein I have onely taken notes of those men who either commaunded

every service, or were of chiefest marke: if therefore you shall impart the same to one, and he to another, and so it passe through my hands, I know not what constructions would be made thereof to my prejudice; for that the Hares eares may happily be taken for hornes. Howbeit I hold it very necessary (I must confesse) that there should be some true manifestation made of these things: but be it far from me to be the author thereof, as very unfit to deliver my censure of any matter in publique, & most unwilling to have my weaknesse discovered in private. And so I doe leave you to the happy successe of your accustomed good exercises, earnestly wishing that there may be some better acceptance made of the fruits of your studies, then there hath bene of our hazards in the wars. From London the 30 of August 1589.

END OF VOLUME VI.

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